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ABSTRACT

Units of study dealing with extremist groups of the right and left for use in high school social studies courses are presented. Extremist groups have two important characteristics in common. First, they have a deeply rooted animus toward democracy and our pluralistic culture. Second, they have a desire to impose their own doctrines on the rest of the populace. By exposing the extremist fringe for what it is, we can help young people understand the dangers inherent in the radical extremists. There are 14 units organized into three major parts: (1) bigotry and violence of the hate groups of the extreme right; (2) anti-Americanism and totalitarianism of the Marxist-Leninist groups of the extreme left; and (3) ways in which a democratic society can deal with these extremist groups. Each of the units contains the following information: student aim, instructional objectives, teaching methods, learning activities, and readings. Students are involved in many different kinds of activities. For example, they read and discuss quotations which illustrate the racist ideas of the hate groups; they read and view films about the Ku Klux Klan's attempt to recruit young people; and they read about, discuss, and analyze the use of terrorism by the American left as well as the international nature of leftist terrorism. (RM)

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EXTREMIST GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

A Curriculum Guide

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Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
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FOREWORD

The great British historian Edward Gibbon observed that civilizations are destroyed from within as well as from without. In the United States, today, some of the most pernicious assaults against our society come from home grown, radical extremist groups on both the left and the right. It is not the great size of their membership rolls that makes them dangerous; most have rather small cadres of followers. They are a grave menace because of their all-out ideological war on American principles and their constant attempts to subvert the young and the impressionable.

Who are these extremists? Some are members of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party. Some are Communists; some are members of the Weather Underground; and others belong to the Black Liberation Army. There are many others, too, using a wide variety of names.

These groups, of course, have different philosophies, different programs and different historical backgrounds. But whether on the left or the right, they all have two important characteristics in common; a deeply rooted animus toward democracy and our pluralistic culture, and a desire to impose their own doctrines on the rest of the populace.

It is imperative that we understand the relationship between these characteristics. Although the organizations studied in this curriculum guide are numerically small, their aims are grandiose: to effect totalitarian domination within the United States. What is totalitarianism? It can be defined as the complete control of all political and personal relationships by the state. And that is why a pluralistic society engenders such hatred in the extremists. Pluralism, by its very nature, presupposes a respect for diversity, a respect for the right to have different opinions; above all, a respect for people. Political extremists and lovers of freedom are bound to be ideological enemies. While lovers of freedom respect the individual and value freedom of thought and expression, extremists will stop at nothing, including the use of terror, in their attempt to turn everyone into a "true believer."

Extremists are shrewd in their manipulation of the media, and hard economic times always increase numbers and power. How can extremist groups best be dealt with by those who cherish democracy?

Education, and a willingness to deal with the issue head-on, is the answer. "The supreme end of education," Samuel Johnson reminded us, "is expert discernment in all things - the power to tell the good from the bad, the genuine from the counterfeit, and to prefer the good and the genuine to the bad and the counterfeit."

If we tell the truth about the extremist fringe - if we expose it for what it is - then I have the utmost faith in the ability of our young people to understand the dangers inherent in the radical extremists -- and to reject their blandishments out of hand.

Once teachers are convinced of their strategic role in the fight against extremists and extremism, they need help if their efforts are to be successful. They need materials of instruction that are far more extensive than those which even a most conscientious teacher has the time and the resources to locate. They need to know of classroom procedures and outside activities that other teachers have found to be helpful and that they can use or modify for their own classes. This curriculum guide allows experienced teachers the freedom to be creative while offering the specific help that inexperienced teachers need.

What makes this curriculum guide especially useful is its inclusion of first-hand material that can be used for classroom discussion. Thus, rather than tell students what to think of various extremist groups, this curriculum guide reproduces what the hate groups have actually said and lets the students themselves do the interpreting and the judging. This is truly learning as an active process.

No teacher can give students a ready-made understanding of extremism: the students themselves have to develop that understanding -- and this curriculum guide can help teachers to help students to develop it.

O. Henry once described one of his characters as being not only well-educated but as also having a lot of useful information. Teachers will find that this curriculum guide is not only well planned and comprehensive but is also full of useful information and usable suggestions.

The United States has so great a stake in its struggles against extremism that I hope school systems will accept this curriculum guide and that teachers will use it.

Because of the untiring efforts of ADL and other like-minded organizations and individuals, we will triumph against the forces of extremism that are abroad in the land today and teachers will share in both the struggle and the reward.

Harry N. Rivlin
Dean Emeritus
Fordham University Graduate School
of Education

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

EXTREMISM OF THE RIGHT AND LEFT

Political extremism is repugnant to the overwhelming majority of Americans because it seeks to undermine the institutions and beliefs of a democratic America. It rejects the pluralism and restraints of our society; it closes out the marketplace of ideas.

It exists on the extreme left and on the extreme right of the political spectrum. Rightist extremism is associated with nativist bigotry, and with the scapegoating of minorities. Leftist extremism is associated with anti-Americanism and with the scapegoating of business, the middle class and the military. Both meet and overlap in their hostility to democratic ideas, and in their opposition to those individuals and organizations who are committed to individual freedom and to liberal or conservative principles within democratic and constitutional frameworks. They meet and overlap in actions aimed at the destabilization and destruction of democracy. They meet and overlap in their use of violence and terror to achieve their ends.

Political extremism is not a recent phenomenon. It has been a feature of our political life in a variety of guises almost from the early days of our federal republic--the Anti-Masons and Know-Nothing Party of the pre-Civil War era; the KKK (and like-minded groups) after the Civil War; the anti-Catholic American Protective Association of the late 19th century; the KKK in the 1920's; the extremist groups of the Depression; the fascists and Bundists associated with the rise of Mussolini and Hitler; the Communists; McCarthyism in the 1950's, Birchism, the KKK, the neo-Nazis and the leftist totalitarians of the present.

Totalitarianism, however, is a new phenomenon. Communism, Fascism and Nazism are modern movements. Each seeks total domination---one authority, one way of life, one ideology, one party in all countries and among all peoples of the world. Though totalitarianism has spawned a sometimes bewildering variety of splinter organizations, parties, or groups, all these share a totalitarian ideology and command the total commitment of their respective adherents. Members must give their lives to the movement, group or party; must adhere to its current "line"; work at its direction. Differences are not tolerated, nor is spontaneity.

We have seen the tragic consequences of totalitarianism in the concentration camp societies of Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. Six million Jews were murdered in the Nazi holocaust and millions of other "undesirables" were killed during the years of Nazi domination. Since the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, Communists have "liquidated" 100 million in the Soviet Union. Chinese Communists have preferred to "re-educate" deviants; yet executions and death from forced labor have mounted into the millions over three decades of Chinese Communist rule. Recent events in Cambodia, Vietnam and Poland attest to totalitarianism's malignant power. In the so-called Third World, emulators of the Soviet Union and Red China have killed and imprisoned millions more. The list--Cuba, Angola, Ethiopia, Uganda, Tanzania, Nicaragua--is long and tragic.

We are fortunate in the great strength of our democratic institutions. Despite periods of mass support, as in the 1920's and 1930's when the KKK had between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 members, when Father Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice claimed 5,000,000 members, and when 750,000 joined the Communist Party of the United States, extremist movements have never succeeded in winning control of the federal or of any state government. Local communities, however, have suffered extremist depredations. Hooded Klansmen terrified southern villages and towns and, along with such 1930's groups as the Black Legion and the Silvershirts, intimidated portions of such states as New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan. During the 1930's and 1940's Communists controlled a few unions, and some allegedly liberal organizations such as the American Writers' Congress, the National Negro Congress and the League Against War and Fascism. All were subordinated to Soviet interests.

Despite their present numerical insignificance, it would be a mistake to ignore or minimize the influence of extremist groups. Under conditions of social and economic stress, extremists may succeed in attracting mass followings. The Klan in the 1920's flourished in what was then perceived as "a general postwar letdown in private and public morals"; Communism gained adherents in the economic and social disintegration of the Depression. Today extremists exploit or exacerbate matters of legitimate concern for many people, among them the greater permissiveness in our society, the drug scene, inflation, racial tensions, nuclear proliferation, the threat of Communism, etc., while they actually work for the destruction of our democratic institutions. They participate in the electoral process, as evidenced most recently by the involvement in the 1980 presidential primaries and in the 1981 New York City mayoralty primary of ranking members of the U.S. Labor Party, a notoriously anti-Semitic group of leftist origins. (In the New York race, the USLP candidate, an unknown, polled about 25,000 votes after stressing the menace of drug traffic. He conveniently dropped the appeal to anti-Semitism.) A KKK leader secured the Democratic nomination in a 1980 California congressional primary. KKK candidates also ran for local office in at least two other states. None, however, was elected. But by so involving themselves, these groups gain publicity and a respectability which would otherwise not be possible.

Although the strength of rightist hate groups is concentrated in the South and West, there is evidence of outreach to the Northeast, as seen in a proliferation of non-organizational imitative behavior: painting of swastikas, vandalism to synagogues and cemeteries, fire bombings of homes, burning crosses, etc. Klan groups are functioning in some thirty states throughout the country. There is also a reservoir of non-affiliated sympathizers which may be as high as ten times the number of known members. According to a Gallup poll, the number of those who approved of the Klan increased from 6% of those polled in 1965 to 10% in 1979. The Anti-Defamation League estimates that as many as 100,000 Ku Klux Klan sympathizers read Klan publications, attend rallies and make contributions.

The white hood and robe of the Klansmen serve to disguise the individual member, but they also signal the Klan's presence. The burning cross, the invective directed at Jews, blacks and immigrants, particularly those from Asia and Latin America, also identify the Klan. The neo-Nazi's uniform, jack-boots, swastikas, serve to draw attention to that organization. Hooded men, burning crosses, jack-boots, the swastika, all are meant to instill fear. The display of arms--and, at times, their use--terrorizes.

Leftist extremism often speaks the language of a militant liberalism; its appeal is couched in a radical and revolutionary rhetoric. Leftist extremists claim to speak and act for the working class, an assertion frequently demonstrated by the organizational names chosen by such groups--the Socialist Workers Party, Workers World Party, the Revolutionary Workers League, the Progressive Labor Party, and so on. The Communist Party, U.S.A., has been run by Moscow from its inception some sixty years ago. Several others claim ties to Maoist China, or, to some "international." Though they quarrel, even hate one another, all share a totalitarian ideology, Marxism-Leninism.

The ultra right and ultra left have engaged in terrorism here and abroad. To mention only a few instances here in the United States: During 1979, violent incidents involving the Klan occurred in Decatur and Talladega County in Alabama and in Tupelo and Okolona in Mississippi, followed by the shooting deaths of five Communist Workers Party demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, in which both Kluxers and Nazis were involved. During 1980, in Tennessee alone, four black women were wounded by the shotgun blasts of Klan members, a black man was shot by two Klansmen, three Klansmen were arrested for possessing explosives. In 1981, Klansmen with rifles and shotguns intimidated refugee Vietnamese fishermen in Texas. Ten ultra rightists, at least six of them Klansmen, were arrested and charged with plotting to invade the Caribbean island republic of Dominica and overthrow its government; six ultra rightists were arrested following their attempt to plant dynamite in a Jewish house of worship in Tennessee. On October 20, 1981, members of the so-called Weather Underground, together with the members of the Black Liberation Army participated in a murderous and unsuccessful attempt to rob a Brink's truck outside a bank in Nanuet, New York. A Brink's guard and two policemen were wantonly killed. At least two bomb factories and illicit armories were uncovered in the investigation that followed. The robbery was to finance, among other things, killings of police officers by leftist terrorists.

PURPOSE OF THIS CURRICULUM

It is the task of the police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to deal with the criminal activities of the extremists. But it is not their function to deal with the unremitting propaganda, the ideological war waged by the hate groups of the right, the totalitarian groups of the left. It is in this area that the schools can play a crucial role.

The young people in the schools are a prime target of extremist groups. The Ku Klux Klan has made a deliberate effort to recruit students in junior high schools and high schools in some twenty-two states, distributing literature that appeals to prejudice and fear. At a typical Klan rally, about 15% are teenagers, over 65% are between the ages of 20 and 35. The Klans have also engaged in paramilitary training of the young. Extremists of the left recruit on college campuses, their appeals designed to exploit the activist and romantic strains within the young.

The schools must provide an education that will enable students to resist the blandishments and propaganda of the extremists during their school years, and in the years after they leave school. Students should learn and be committed to the rights and constraints of our democratic system. They should understand the pluralistic nature of our society. They should be able to distinguish between fact and opinion; between generalizing and stereotyping.

This curriculum is designed to help educate young people to the dangers posed by extremist groups, to aid them to learn the dire consequences of racism and totalitarianism, and to arm them with the skills and knowledge they need to reject the appeals of those who would destroy our freedoms and our democratic society.

HOW TO USE THIS CURRICULUM

There are fourteen topics in the curriculum. They are concerned with the general features of right and left extremism, as well as with specific extremist groups. They are also concerned with prejudice and bigotry in its various noxious forms, with totalitarianism as it is manifested in the world today, and with ways in which democracy can defend itself against the onslaught of extremists. The Table of Contents includes short descriptions of each of the topics.

Each of the topics contains a wide variety of readings; the shorter topics should take a minimum of two class periods, the longer ones four or five periods. Since students at different levels of secondary school differ in their maturity and ability levels, the material in the topics may need to be adapted for those in the lower secondary grades. The entire curriculum can be the basis of a mini course on extremism, or of a unit on extremism in a Problems of Democracy, or similar course.

Schools that find their time more limited can reduce the number of class periods needed by using only some of the readings in each topic, or by using only certain of the topics. It would be advisable, however, that schools studying extremism of the right devote some time to the general lessons on hate groups, white supremacy, and scapegoating before they proceed to a study of a specific hate group like the Ku Klux Klan. That way, students would have a far better basis for understanding the ideology and behavior of the Klan.

Many of the topics in the curriculum would be valuable additions to courses in citizenship education. Courses concerned with values education could put to good use the materials included to help students probe their own prejudices.

Portions of a number of the topics can be integrated into American history courses. For example: the history of the First Klan into the study of Reconstruction; the history of the Second Klan into a study of America in the 1920's; the history of the Third Klan into a study of the Civil Rights era. The reading on the scapegoating of Chinese in California in the 1870's included in Topic IV; the readings on "Jim Crow" legislation, on immigration restriction in the 1920's, and on Japanese internment during World War II included in Topic III could all be used at various points in the American history curriculum. A course in world history can incorporate the readings on Nazi Germany found in Topics IV and IX, as well as descriptions of the Soviet Union, Communist China, and international terrorism found in a number of the topics on extremism of the left.

It is essential that students take an active role in their learning, rather than passively absorb information. Throughout, the curriculum emphasizes pupil inquiry and discovery. This has made it necessary to include, in certain of the topics, statements by extremists which, in the case of hate group members, clearly reveal their bigoted views. It would be advisable that such statements be read in class under teacher supervision, and that they be discussed and analyzed immediately thereafter.

Extremism, however, is not a controversial issue. It is not the function of the teacher to provide a platform for any student or outside speaker to ventilate racist, anti-Semitic, or totalitarian sentiments. The democratic values held by the teacher should be obvious from the outset, and should be reinforced by appropriate classroom displays.

The great American philosopher, William James, observed in 1907: "The civic genius of our people...consists in nothing but two common habits...One of them is the habit of trained and disciplined good temper towards the opposite party when it fairly wins its innings...The other is that of fierce and merciless resentment toward every man or set of men who break the public peace." Students should come away from a study of extremist groups in the United States more strongly than ever committed to our democratic values, and inexorably opposed to those who would use hatred and violence to destroy our democratic society.

PART ONE

BIGOTRY AND VIOLENCE - THE HATE GROUPS OF THE EXTREME RIGHT

TOPIC I - RECOGNIZING THE HATE GROUPS

Student Aim - How do we recognize the hate groups that exist in the United States today?

Instructional Objectives

1. Students will understand that hate groups in America can be recognized by:
    - their espousal of racism and anti-Semitism
    - their hostility to new immigrant groups
    - their advocacy and use of violence
    - their use of a conspiracy theory to explain complex problems
2. They will realize that the hate groups mask the evils for which they stand by claiming loyalty to values we all support.
3. They will realize that the hate groups try to attract support by playing on people's legitimate concerns about certain economic and social issues.
4. They will understand that the goals of the hate groups are completely contrary to American democratic values.

Approach

1. Ask the class - have you ever felt that you were hated by someone?
    - what made you believe you were being hated?
    - why should we be concerned when one individual hates another?
    - when that person is a member of an organized hate group, why does his hatred become an object of even greater concern?
2. Indicate that the purpose of the lesson is to identify the hate groups in the United States and learn their major ideas, in order that we can better recognize them and the dangers they pose to our society.

Development

1. Distribute to the class Reading 1 for Topic I: Hate Groups In The United States.

   - Ask the students if they have ever heard of any of these groups, and, if so, to describe what they know.

   - Inform the class that they will be studying the two most important groups - the Ku Klux Klan and the neo-Nazis - at greater length in later lessons.

   - Note that all the groups listed have the same philosophy, and display hatred and bigotry toward the same people.

   - Explain that the hate groups are also known as extremist groups of the right:

     - Extremist - Their ideas and conduct go beyond the bounds of recognized behavior.

     - Of The Right - They ostensibly stand for the old established values, as opposed to the left which wants to completely change the social and political system. In actuality, extremism of the right leads inevitably to the destruction of democracy and the imposition of a dictatorship on the model of Nazi Germany.

     - Let us see why this is so.

2. Distribute to the class, Reading 2 for Topic I: What The Hate Groups Say About Themselves. Explain that these are actual quotations taken from hate group literature, and the speeches of hate group leaders. Ask the students to read the quotations silently, taking notes on the ideas which the hate groups are promoting. In the discussion include the following questions:

Quotations 1 - 4

- What racial, ethnic, and religious groups do the hate groups target? Indicate that by the word "immigrant" the hate groups mean any American who came from Asia or Latin America, and many who came from southern and eastern Europe.

- What group do they believe is superior to all others?

- What do they suggest be done to those they consider inferior?

Quotations 5, 6

- How do the hate groups describe themselves?
- Is a movement that openly expresses its hatred for certain Americans truly "patriotic" and "Christian"?
- How does the goal, "preservation of our American Republic" square with the desire to institute an "Aryan republic," or the desire to limit American citizenship only to certain whites?

Quotation 7

- Do you approve of a "family-centered sensible" lifestyle? Don't most people? Note that hate groups try to attract people by claiming loyalty to such values as patriotism and family togetherness.
- Would you be attracted to an organization that claimed to be strongly in favor of family values?
- What part of the statement warns you that hate groups do not think of "family" in exactly the same terms as most people?

Quotations 8 - 10

- Do you oppose the same dreadful things that the National States Rights Party opposes? Note that hate groups attract people by playing on their legitimate concerns.
- According to the National States Rights Party, why do these dreadful things exist?
    - Wouldn't you like to end inflation, balance the budget, and defend our national security? Why does the Liberty Lobby claim this has not been done?
    - What is meant by a "conspiracy?" (The secret banding together of persons to accomplish an evil end).
    - Can we blame all our problems on a plot by certain persons to destroy society?
    - Why is this a simple way to dispose of all your problems?
    - Why is it a dangerous way?

Quotations 11, 12

- Why are these quotations frightening?

- How do these quotations show the serious threat that hate groups are to our country?

3. Distribute to the class Reading 3 for Topic I: An Analysis of Hate Group Ideas. The reading, a discussion of hate group beliefs and motivations, is taken from The Nature of Prejudice, a classic work by an important researcher into prejudice, the late Gordon W. Allport. Explain to the students that the reading will clarify further the attitudes and beliefs of the hate groups.

    - Discuss the reading.

    - What kind of people are attracted to hate groups?

    - How do the hate groups meet the needs of these people?

Summary

Develop a blackboard outline: Recognizing Hate Groups in America Today

1. What is their message?

2. What is their appeal?

3. Why are they a serious threat to our society?

Application

Repeat the statement made earlier in the lesson that extremism of the right leads inevitably to the destruction of democracy.

- Ask the students to discuss the statement in terms of the knowledge they have gained during the lesson.

Follow-Up Activity

View the color/sound filmstrip Organized Bigotry: White Sheets and Swastikas. Available from Current Affairs, 346 Ethan Allen Hwy; P.O. Box 426, Ridgefield, Connecticut 06877. Examines the nature and philosophies of two of the hate groups - The Ku Klux Klan and the neo-Nazis. Assesses these two groups in terms of the physical, moral, and philosophical threats they present to society. (c.15 minutes).

Readings for Topic I - Recognizing the Hate Groups

1. Hate Groups In The United States - The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.
2. What The Hate Groups Say About Themselves - The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.
3. An Analysis Of Hate Group Ideas - Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1958).

Reading 1 For Topic I

Hate Groups In The United States

Source: The Anti-Defamation
League of B'nai B'rith

MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS

Ku Klux Klan -- An anti-black, anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant, violent group. There are a number of competing Klan organizations with different leaders, but all have the same beliefs and use the same trappings of hoods, robes, and rituals.

Neo-Nazis -- An anti-black, anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant, violent group that patterns itself on Nazi Germany. The various neo-Nazi factions, the largest of which is the National Socialist White People's Party, wear Nazi uniforms and regalia.

National States Rights Party -- A blend of neo-Nazi and Ku Klux Klan, often serving as a bridge between the two organizations. Its monthly publication, The Thunderbolt, is read by many Klansmen and neo-Nazis. Its Georgia-based leader, J.B. Stoner, was recently convicted in connection with a church bombing.

Christian Patriots Defense League -- A paramilitary organization, part of the growing "survivalist" phenomenon, to which it has added anti-black, anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant beliefs. Headquartered in Illinois, it is expanding to other areas, providing paramilitary training to persons steeped in hate.

There are a number of other small violence-prone hate groups with names like the Posse Comitatus (Wisconsin), Christian Defense League (Louisiana), Aryan Nation (Idaho), Ridgewood Group (Queens, New York), Western Front (California). They do not wear the trappings of the Klan or the neo-Nazis, but they subscribe to the same philosophy of hatred and bigotry.

National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) ---An extremist group whose political arm was the now defunct U.S. Labor Party. Headed by political activist Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., who promotes anti-Semitism and also accuses various governments, groups, and prominent individuals of sinister and illegal plots to manipulate political, economic and social events. LaRouche began his political activities as a Marxist, but in recent years has proclaimed himself a conservative "economist." The NCLC is the nucleus of a group of associated organizations that carry out LaRouche's program. Some of these are: the National Democratic Policy Committee (which, despite its name, does not represent the Democratic Party in any way), the Fusion Energy Foundation,the National Anti-Drug Coalition. These groups exploit general public concern over such issues as nuclear energy and drug abuse in order to attract people to LaRouche's extremist beliefs. LaRouche also publicizes his program through the magazines Executive Intelligence Review and War on Drugs, and the newspaper New Solidarity. These publications also capitalize on the public's concern with a wide variety of political, social and economic issues. Many LaRouche followers have participated in political campaigns at the local, state and federal levels. LaRouche himself ran for President in 1976 on the U.S. Labor Party ticket, and in 1980, entered Democratic Party presidential primaries in many states, but garnered only a minute percentage of the votes cast.

PROPAGANDA ORGANIZATIONS

Liberty Lobby — A multi-million dollar propaganda organization that disseminates the anti-black, anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant beliefs of the hate movement. Based in Washington, D.C., its daily radio broadcast is now heard over a claimed 400 stations. Its weekly newspaper, The Spotlight, has more than 300,000 subscribers. It has close ties to the Institute for Historical Review, a pseudo-academic group, located in Torrance, California, that promotes through publications and conferences the anti-Semitic theme that the Holocaust is a "hoax."

Liberty Bell Press — A propaganda outfit in West Virginia that publishes and promotes hate literature. It is run by a neo-Nazi who was a member of the Hitler Youth in Germany.

In addition, many of the membership groups publish newspapers that contain articles and cartoons expressing their bigoted views.

Reading 2 For Topic I

What The Hate Groups Say About Themselves

Source: The Anti-Defamation
League of B'nai B'rith

1. The Crusader (The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan) - May, 1977

"We prefer the white race in terms of physical beauty, we prefer the white race in terms of our heritage and culture. We prefer our life styles to that of blacks."

2. The Crusader (The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan) - Feb., 1977

"We must defend our people from the negro, but we must never forget what is behind him and many more of the persons afflicting our civilization; what Shakespear (sic) called the Eternal Jew...That is why the Klan has opposed Jewry for over one hundred years."

3. The Klansman (Invisible Empire, Knights of the KKK) - Nov., 1977

"We believe that the total voluntary separation of the races is in the best interest of the American Republic. We will seek the resettlement of the black race in their homeland on the continent of Africa. Immigration should be restricted to white people...."

4. The Klansman (Invisible Empire, Knights of the KKK) - August, 1979

"There are already more than a quarter of a million Indo-Chinese in this country, and at least another quarter of a million awaiting their tickets to paradise...

The average American realizes something which our alleged leaders do not. That is, this country cannot forever serve as the dumping grounds for the unwanted masses of the world."

5. The Fiery Cross (United Klans of America) - April, 1978

"We have attempted to show the United Klans of America as it really is - a Christian, Patriotic and Fraternal Order for White, native born Christian Americans, dedicated to the preservation of our American Republic... If You Are For A Purely White America - If You Are Against Communist-Inspired Race Mixing - If You Are A True Patriot - Join Today."

6. White Power (National Socialist White People's Party - also known as Neo-Nazis) - Jan.-Feb., 1981

"The existing federal state is doomed, and we should have no part of it. Instead we must begin to think in terms of pledging our loyalty to an Aryan republic."

*Aryan - a linguistic designation referring to those speaking an Indo-European dialect. Used by the hate movement to mean a northern, Germanic, white "master race."

7. The Crusader (Knights of the Ku Klux Klan) - January, 1981

"[We are pleased at] the rapid growth of the Klan in the struggle for a turn away from destructive me-me-me selfishness of recent times and back to a family-centered sensible style of life...[However], a concern for one's family cannot be limited to immediate kin, but must logically pass on to the extended family that is one's race as well."

8. The Thunderbolt (National States Rights Party) - October, 1973

"Rape, dope, drug abuse, degeneracy in general, atheism, busing, crime, communism and the decline of civilization on the earth have been ushered into the world as a part of the race mixing package that the Jews have designed to destroy our White Race, America and other White Christian countries of the world. White people of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your Jews and negroes."

9. A mailing addressed to "Dear Fellow American" sent by the Liberty Lobby to gain subscribers to its weekly newspaper, The Spotlight - March, 1982

"You, like me trusted President Reagan to end inflation, balance the budget and restore our national security in the face of militant global communism.

But we both should have seen the handwriting on the wall--and in large script the words were written: THE TRILATERALISTS ARE IN CONTROL...

...And by midnight of election night, Ronald Reagan's policies and your vote were held captive by a faceless, anonymous group known as the Trilateral Commission."

*Trilateral Commission - A policy group founded by David Rockefeller in 1973 to analyze major issues confronting North America, Western Europe, and Japan, and to work out cooperative solutions. Membership, consisting of distinguished citizens from these parts of the world, totals about 250.

10. The Klansman (Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan) - Feb., 1980

"Since the end of World War II, there has existed a...conspiracy to destroy all of Western civilization. The instigators of this conspiracy occupy the highest seats of power and finance in Europe and America."

11. Statement by Louis Beam, Grand Dragon of the Texas Ku Klux Klan at 1979 Klan convention

"Get ready for what we know is coming. Everyone talks of a race war. How many guns, bullets, food, training, preparations have you made? Our forefathers built this country with blood. It will take fresh blood, some of our blood, but, by God, a lot of it will be the blood of our enemies...The Government is murdering our people, busing our children, supporting Communist governments. There are penalties for murder: death. And they are guilty of murder! Prepare for what is coming!"

12. Statement by John R. Harrell, Leader of the Christian Patriots Defense League in an address to a group of Klansmen, as quoted in the Tampa Tribune, May 15, 1978

"Buy yourselves a gun, and then buy some ammunition. If you can't get the ammunition you might as well get a club. It will be cheaper and you can beat them to death."

Reading 3 For Topic I

An Analysis Of Hate Group Ideas

Gordon W. Allport, The Nature
of Prejudice, (New York:
Doubleday and Company, 1958)
pp.389, 390, 348, 343

[Hate group ideas] boil down to the following points:

You've been cheated. Your social position is insecure because of the machinations of Jews...communists, and other agents of change. Sincere and plain folk like us are always dupes. We must do something.

There is widespread conspiracy against us. It is being engineered by devils - by Wall Street, Jewish bankers, internationalists, the State Department. We must do something.

The conspirators are sexually corrupt too. They "roll in wealth, bathe in liquor, surround themselves with the seduced daughters of America".... Aliens enjoy all the forbidden fruit.

Our present government is corrupt. The two-party system is a sham. Democracy is a "trick word," "Liberalism is anarchy." Civil liberties are "silly liberties." We cannot be universalistic in our ethics. We must look out for ourselves.

We can't trust the foreigners. Internationalism is a threat. But we can't trust our own government either. Alien termites bore within. Washington is a "Bolshevik rat's nest."

Our enemies are low animals: reptiles, insects, germs, subhuman. Extermination is called for; we must do something....

There is no middle ground. The world is divided. Those who are not for us are against us. It is a war between haves and have-nots; between true Americans and "foreigners"....

There must be no polluting of blood. We must keep racially pure and elite. Vile contamination comes from dealing at all with the moral lepers of liberalism...

That [hate group members] are frustrated, bitter, on the outs with themselves and society, there can be no doubt. True issues are not stated; they would point to flaws in economic structure, to the failure of men to find a cure for war, to neglect of basic principles of human relations in schools, industries, and community life, and-above all-to inner lack of mental health and ego-firmness.

This true causation, being complex, is entirely avoided. The sufferers are assured that they are not to blame. Their precarious self-esteem is protected by comforting assurance that they are Christians, true patriots, the elite....

The easiest idea to sell anyone is that he is better than someone else. The appeal of the Ku Klux Klan and racist agitators rests on this type of salesmanship. Snobbery is a way of clutching at one's status, and it is as common, perhaps more common, among those who are low in the ladder. By turning their attention to unfavored out-groups, they are able to derive from the comparison a modicum of self-esteem. Out-groups, as status builders, have the special advantage of being near at hand, visible (or at least nameable), and occupying a lower position by common agreement, thus providing social support for one's own sense of status enhancement....

Finally, there is a kind of economy in adopting an exclusionist approach to human relations...By taking a negative view of great groups of mankind, we somehow make life simpler. For example, if I reject all foreigners as a category, I don't have to bother with them--except to keep them out of my country. If I can ticket, then, all Negroes as comprising an inferior and objectionable race, I conveniently dispose of a tenth of my fellow citizens. If I can put the Catholics into another category and reject them, my life is still further simplified. I then pare again and slice off the Jews...and so it goes.

Thus the prejudiced pattern, involving various degrees and kinds of hatred and aggression, takes its place in the individual's world-view. It has an economy about it that we cannot deny. Still it falls considerably short of the dreams men have for themselves. At bottom they still long for affiliation with life and peaceful and friendly relations with their fellow men.

TOPIC II - LEARNING ABOUT PREJUDICE

Student Aim - How does prejudice develop and flourish?

Instructional Objectives

1. Students will learn the meanings of prejudice and stereotyping.
2. They will understand that our prejudices are learned behaviors that derive from a variety of sources; among them, observation of the behavior of authority figures, individual experiences, the media.
3. They will recognize the destructive nature of prejudice.
4. Their learnings should serve as a base for a more thorough analysis of the bigotry of the hate groups in subsequent lessons.

Approach

1. Ask: "Based on our discussion of hate groups, what terms would you use to describe a typical member?"

   Try to elicit - "full of hate," "angry," "suspicious," "humorless," "prone to violence," "prejudiced."
2. Develop a preliminary definition of prejudice as an attitude of hostility directed against an individual, group or race.
3. Discuss the root of the word "prejudice" -- pre-judge. This indicates that the hostile judgment is reached before there is any real knowledge of the individual or group toward which the hostility is directed.

Development

1. Read the following statement to the class:

> First of all, let's get one thing straight. People aren't born prejudiced. There aren't any genes or chromosomes of prejudice which can be inherited from parents. There is nothing in a person's germ plasm which accounts for prejudiced behavior. Scientists

cannot find a shred of evidence that prejudice is inherited. Instead, all evidence clearly shows that prejudice is learned. After they are born, people learn whom they are expected to approve and disapprove. As the song from South Pacific puts it, "You have to be taught to hate."

William Van Til, Prejudiced --
How Do People Get That Way?
(New York: Anti-Defamation
League of B'nai B'rith, 1975)
p.9

- Let us see how people learn their prejudices.

2. Distribute to the class Reading 1 for Topic II: The Case of the People With Green Hair. Discuss the ways in which prejudice might develop in people. Include the following:

   - observing the actions of parents, teachers and other adults toward members of another race or ethnic group

   - fearing the unknown

   - generalizing from unpleasant associations

3. Note that the degree of prejudice an individual holds toward others can differ. Members of hate groups are so prejudiced that they express their hostility in violent terms. However, we all have some prejudices. To become less prejudiced it is necessary for us to be aware of the prejudices we have.

4. Propose the activities listed below as a way of probing student prejudices. Since these activities involve an exploration and evaluation by the pupils of their feelings, they will take several periods.

Activity I - To help students discover the degree to which they possess stereotypes about different groups in our society.

1. Distribute to the students copies of Reading 2 for Topic II: Adjectives. Tell them you will call out the names of various groups in our society. When you call out a name they are to write it in their notebook, and under it list five adjectives that they believe describe that group. The adjectives are to be selected from the list provided.

2. Name racial groups, e.g., black, white; ethnic groups, e.g., Italians, Japanese, Chicanos; religious groups, e.g., Protestants, Catholics, Jews. To bring home the point that we hold stereotypes for a great variety of groups, intersperse such groups as policemen, football players, cheerleaders, politicians, people on welfare.

3. Develop a definition of the word "stereotype"--a preconceived, fixed, oversimplified image of a group of people which influences the way we relate to individuals of that group. Discuss the fact that stereotypes are exaggerated and biased generalizations, and that stereotyping is a form of prejudice because we are pre-judging individuals on the basis of images we have built up about a whole group.

4. Discuss the stereotypes that have emerged from the activity. The following questions might help to launch the discussion:

   -- Before we did this exercise, did you realize that you possessed a stereotype of this particular group?

   -- Would you describe your stereotype as favorable or unfavorable?

   -- Do you think that your stereotype is an accurate description of this particular group?

   -- If you were a member of that group, would you want to be portrayed in this way?

   -- Where do you think that stereotype came from?

   -- What role does the media play in perpetuating stereotypes?

   -- What purpose do you think stereotypes serve?

   -- Does holding such a stereotype affect the way you act toward people of this particular group?

As the above questions suggest, this activity might go off in a variety of different directions. Its power lies in its ability to make students aware of the fact that they hold stereotyped views and to challenge them to deal with these.

5. Distribute Reading 3 for Topic II: Father's Appraisal of Coalhouse Walker, Jr." Inform the students that the reading is taken from a novel, Ragtime, which is set in the early part of this century. In the discussion the following points should be included:

   - Father's stereotype of blacks stopped him from evaluating Coalhouse Walker, Jr. on his own merits.

   - Father had a preconceived notion of black behavior based on the only type of black he had ever met. (One who knocked meekly at the back door, knew his place, did not think that he was the equal of whites)

   - The media had helped to frame Father's stereotype of blacks.

Activity II - To help students become aware of their own level of acceptance of different racial, ethnic, and religious groups.

1. Distribute to the class Reading 4 for Topic II: A Continuum of Social Relationships Among Human Groups. Analyze the graph using the definitions listed below the graph. Discuss ways of distinguishing between predilection and prejudice.

2. Distribute copies of Reading 5 for Topic II: The Social Distance Scale. Ask students to write the appropriate number indicating their level of acceptance of each group in the space provided. For example, after Chinese, they may wish to write the number seven if they would be willing for their sister or brother to marry (or date) a Chinese. They should write only one number for each group. Note: Danireans, Fireneans, and Wallonians do not exist. Research shows that students who reveal a great deal of intolerance toward other groups also express similar attitudes toward these non-existent peoples.

3. Analyze the responses by discussing at what point in the continuum of social relationships students hold each of the groups.

   — Identify those groups towards whom the students seem to hold the least accepting attitudes. Discuss how prejudice can lead to discrimination and scapegoating.

4. Distribute copies of Reading 6 for Topic II: The Concept of the Timid Bigot.

   -- Define the term "bigot" - A person of strong prejudice in matters of religion, race, or politics who is intolerant of those who differ with him. A timid bigot is one who harbors prejudice toward particular groups, but because of what is considered appropriate or acceptable behavior in his social circle, he does not openly display his feelings.

-- What harm can timid bigots do?

-- Is it possible for timid bigots to support the goals of extremists?

-- Can timid bigots turn into bigots who act out their prejudices aggressively?

5. Discuss the differences between a prejudiced individual and a member of a hate group. Draw out the fact that members of hate groups act out their prejudices aggressively in the form of discrimination and scapegoating, and demand that others behave in the same way.

6. If people do not act out their prejudices aggressively why is it still bad for them to be prejudiced?

Summary - Application

What have we learned over the past few days about prejudice?

-- Prejudice is irrational, but learned behavior

-- Many prejudices are rooted in childhood from observing authority figures and friends.

-- Because stereotypes are all pervasive, we accept them without thought.

-- An individual who holds stereotypes cannot evaluate people on their own merits.

-- Stereotypes are used by prejudiced people to rationalize their prejudices.

-- When a prejudiced individual acts out his prejudices it results in discrimination and scapegoating.

-- Prejudice is destructive because the prejudiced person views his fellow men as members of hated groups rather than as possible friends and associates.

Students should come up with many other insights.

Follow-Up Activities

1. View color, sound filmstrip: Stereotyping and Generalizing, available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017.

   The filmstrip defines prejudice; shows its relation to stereotyping; explains how stereotyping differs from valid generalizing. Describes the nature of prejudice--how it is formed and how it may be altered. (c. 15 minutes)

2. View color, sound filmstrip: The Distorted Image: Stereotype and Caricature In American Popular Graphics, 1850-1922. Available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017.

   Cartoons and illustrations from large circulation magazines reveal the extent and nature of stereotyping which has affected all minority groups in the United States. (28 minutes)

Readings for Topic II

1. The Case of the People With Green Hair - William Van Til, Prejudiced--How Do People Get That Way (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1975).

2. Adjectives - David A. Shiman, The Prejudice Book (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1979).

3. Father's Appraisal of Coalhouse Walker, Jr. - E.L. Doctorow, Ragtime (New York: Bantam Books, 1976).

4. A Continuum of Social Relationships Among Human Groups - Gordon W. Allport, ABC's of Scapegoating (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1979).

5. The Social Distance Scale - David A. Shiman, The Prejudice Book (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1979).

6. The Concept of the Timid Bigot - Nina Hersch Gabelko and John U. Michaelis, Reducing Adolescent Prejudice (New York: Teachers College Press, 1981).

Reading 1 for Topic II

The Case of the People With Green Hair

William Van Til, Prejudiced - How Do People Get That Way
(New York: Anti-Defamation
(League of B'nai B'rith, 1975),
pp. 10-12.

John Doe is not born with prejudice against other human beings who have green hair. But from the time he is a tiny tot, John Doe is warned against them. Don't play with the children with green hair. Don't talk to them. Stay with your own kind. You're a bad boy, John Doe, if you have anything to do with the green-haired children. John Doe learns not only from his parents' words but also from tone of voice, facial expressions, and gestures.

As John grows older, he learns that his parents and their friends and neighbors do not want people with green hair to attend his church, to live in his neighborhood, to go to his school or playground or camp. The adults who control John's life, and whom he imitates and depends upon, insist that the people with green hair stay in their place. Everybody with whom little John Doe is acquainted believes that green-haired people should worship elsewhere, live elsewhere, and be educated elsewhere. As a child, John Doe very seldom even sees people with green hair.

As to jobs, the family of little John Doe believes that people with green hair should do the heavy and the dirty work which people like John Doe's folks need done but don't want to do themselves. The better jobs, in professions or business, should belong to people like John's father and mother. If people with green hair do hold any such job, they should be restricted to working for their own kind, the people with green hair.

The people with green hair whom John does encounter are those who do the heavy and the dirty jobs for his family. Naturally, these folks do not happen to be the more able green-haired people. Instead, they are the people who can obtain only this type of work. They are not well educated. They dress poorly. They get dirty on the job. So John Doe's first actual childhood experience with the people with green hair helps persuade him that his family is right. Green-haired people, he can plainly see, are inferior people. They are uneducated, poor, dirty.

The way things are, there can be almost no communication between John Doe and the people with green hair. John has no reliable way of telling what green-haired people are thinking. True, he occasionally reads about people with green hair in his local newspaper. But, since conflict makes news, his newspaper usually reports on people with green hair who happen to get themselves into trouble with the law. When the name of a person with green hair appears in the news, the local newspaper carefully places the words "green hair" after the individual's name. John often comes away from his newspaper with the clear impression that too many green-haired people get themselves into difficult situations. The conclusion that everything has conspired to teach him since infancy becomes more confirmed. People with green hair are people who do bad things. Even the newspaper say so.

Since he has no way of communicating directly with people who have green hair, John Doe is an easy prey for wild rumors concerning "greenies," as many contemptuously call them. John hears that "greenies" want to marry people with "superior" hair color and thus make everybody's hair partly green. Though people with green hair repeatedly deny this rumor and plaintively explain that all they want is to be treated like human beings, John clutches on to the rumor. It strengthens his resolve to keep people with green hair in their place so that people like himself and his family will not be forced to live at the low level at which the people with green hair are forced to live.

Time moves along. John Doe becomes a man. He follows the patterns he has learned. He marries Jane Doe, who has learned the same prejudices against people with green hair. Eventually, they become parents. And what do they teach their children? "Don't play with the children with green hair. You are bad if you do."

John Doe has learned to be prejudiced against people with green hair. How did John Doe get that way? The total environment in which John Doe lived encouraged prejudice against people with green hair. He learned his prejudices from his parents, their friends, and his neighbors. He learned them from his limited observations. He learned them from his reading of his newspaper. He learned them from his separation from green-haired people on his job. He developed an unattractive picture in his mind, an ugly stereotype of people with green hair. So, in turn, John Doe carried over his prejudices to his children. Because they noticed and imitated their father's feelings, John Doe's children, too, became infected with the disease called prejudice.

Nothing ever broke the circle that closed John Doe in with his prejudices against people with green hair. Things were so arranged by John Doe's family that he found himself walled in by the circle almost from birth. In turn, John Doe began to build a circle of prejudice around his own children from the time of their birth.

Reading 2 for Topic II

David A. Shiman, The Prejudice Book
(New York: Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith, 1979), pp. 84-87.

ADJECTIVES

Select five adjectives which best describe (name of group):

___ Friendly
___ Athletic
___ Lazy
___ Neat
___ Kind
___ Stupid
___ Superstitious
___ Smart
___ Cowardly
___ Religious
___ Criminal
___ Courageous
___ Dominant
___ Sneaky
___ Dependent
___ Untrustworthy
___ Peaceful
___ Dishonest

___ Immoral
___ Helpful
___ Dirty
___ Musical
___ Skilled
___ Adventurous
___ Happy
___ Hard-working
___ Pushy
___ Strong
___ Emotional
___ Energetic
___ Honest
___ Ambitious
___ Trustworthy
___ Conceited
___ Violent
___ Moral

Reading 3 for Topic II

Father's Appraisal Of Coalhouse Walker, Jr.

E.L. Doctorow, Ragtime (New
York: Bantam Books, 1976), pp.
185-186

Father is a prosperous white businessman who knows only a few black people, all of whom are servants. Coalhouse Walker, Jr., is a talented, articulate, sophisticated black man who does not fit father's stereotype of blacks at all.

> "It occurred to Father one day that Coalhouse Walker, Jr. didn't know that he was a Negro. The more he thought about this the more it seemed. Walker didn't act or talk like a colored man. He seemed to be able to transform the customary deferences practiced by his race so that they reflected to his own dignity rather than the recipient's. When he arrived at the back door he gave it a stout rap and when admitted would solemnly greet everyone and somehow convey to them the feeling that they were Sarah's (the black maid) family, and that his courtesies to them simply reassured the regard and respect he held for her. Father recognized certain dangers in the man. Perhaps we shouldn't encourage his suit, he said to Mother. There is something reckless about him. Even Mathew Henson* knew his place."

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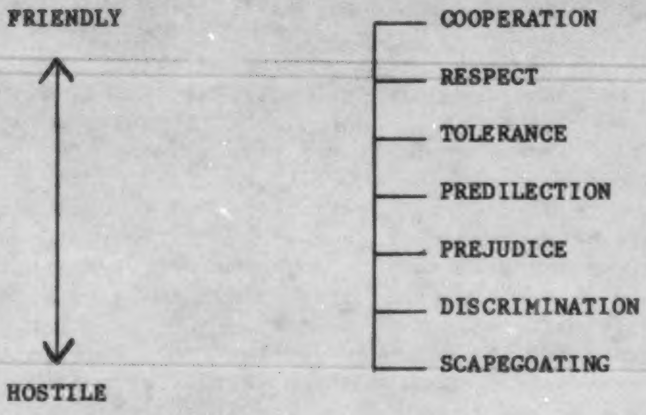
* Matthew Henson - A black explorer who went to the North Pole with Admiral Peary in 1909. Reports of the trip labeled Henson "Peary's black servant."

Reading 4 for Topic II

Gordon W. Allport, ABC's of
Scapegoating (New York: Anti-
Defamation League of B'nai
B'rith 1979), pp. 8-10.

A CONTINUUM OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG HUMAN GROUPS



Let us define the stages or degrees of hostile relationships that are readily distinguishable, starting with predilection, the mildest and most normal form of group-exclusion, through active prejudice and discrimination, to scapegoating itself.

Predilection is the simple preference of an individual for one culture, one skin color, one language as opposed to another. If you like Mexican culture and I do not, there is no use disputing about our respective tastes. We are privileged to disagree on such matters, and, as a rule, we respect one another's choice. Predilections are inevitable and natural. But they are the first step toward scapegoating if and when they turn into more active biases, that is to say, into --

Prejudice. Here we have a rigid, inflexible, exaggerated predilection. A prejudice is an attitude in a closed mind. Impervious to evidence and to contrary argument it makes for prejudgment. Some Europeans think all Americans are loud-mouthed spendthrifts. This stereotyped judgment is fixed. It is hard to change. It is a prejudice. An Oxford student is said to have remarked, "I despise all Americans, but I've never met one I didn't like." This anecdote suggests that prejudgments may stand even when every particle of available evidence is against them. Some people with prejudices think all Negroes are stupid, all Scotsmen are tight-fisted, all women inferior to men.

Prejudice, if not acted out, if kept to oneself, does no great social harm. It merely stultifies the mind that possesses it. But prejudice expressed leads to --

Discrimination, which differs from scapegoating chiefly in the amount of aggression shown. Discrimination is an act of exclusion prompted by prejudice. Generally it is based not on an individual's intrinsic qualities but on a "label" branding the individual as a member of a discredited group. It means separating forcibly and unjustly from our vocation, our neighborhood, our schools, even our churches, a person against whom we are prejudiced because he bears an unsavory label. Note well, it is not we who move out, prompted by our predilection, but they whom we forcibly exclude from intruding into "our domain."

Scapegoating is full-fledged aggression in word or deed. The victim is abused verbally or physically. He usually cannot fight back, for we see to it that we pick only on minority groups weaker than ourselves. The essential cowardliness of scapegoating is illustrated by our persecution of the Salem "witches," a small, frail handful of neurotic women and elderly people who could not offer effective resistance.

As long as human beings have choices to make, they will make them on the basis of some inclination. Predilections are the basis for such choices, normal enough and inevitable. But unjust generalizations on the basis of these predilections lead to the formation of prejudices which, if uncontrolled, breed discrimination. Finally, if conditions are ripe--if frustration, ignorance, and propaganda combine in proper proportions--discrimination breaks over into scapegoating.

Reading 5 for Topic II

David A. Shiman, The Prejudice
Book (New York: Anti-Defamation
League of B'nai B'rith, 1979),
pp. 124-125

THE SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

Catagories of Acceptance

1. I would not let them in my country.
2. I would let them in my country but only as visitors.
3. I would let them become citizens in my country.
4. I would welcome them as classmates in my school.
5. I would welcome them as neighbors on my street.
6. I would let them in my club as personal friends.
7. I would be willing for my sister or brother to marry (or date) them.

List of Racial, Ethnic, National, and Religious Groups

__Arabs

__Blacks

__Canadians

__Catholics

__Chinese

__Chicanos

__Danireans

__Native Americans

__Indians (India)

__Irish

__Italians

__Japanese

__Japanese-Americans

__Jews

__Mexicans

__Moslems

__Pireneans

__Puerto Ricans

__Russians

__Walloniana

__Whites

Reading 6 for Topic II

Nina Hersch Gabelko and John
U. Michaelis, Reducing
Adolescent Prejudice (New
York: Teachers College Press,
1981), p. 30.

THE CONCEPT OF A TIMID BIGOT

Who Are The Timid Bigots?

1. The manager of the apartment house speaking to the prospective tenants: "Of course open housing is the law. If you can afford the rent, you can lease the place."

   Later to his friend: "Well, they are just doing their darndest to ruin what used to be a perfectly good family neighborhood. Had to rent to two more of 'em today."

****

2. Susie had been friends with Jane since sixth grade. They like and respect each other very much. Susie has made new friends in high school. These new friends are of the same religious group as Susie. Jane is a member of another religious group. When her friends tell her that they do not want Jane to come along on their outing because she is not a member of their religious group, Susie goes along with their wishes because she does not want to make trouble.

****

3. The plant manager showing the majority stockholder through the plant: "Mr. Alexander, you will be pleased to notice that your equal opportunity rule has been followed. I have seen to it that we have made minority hiring a prime concern."

   At lunchtime the plant manager retreats into his private office to eat because he feels that too many of the newly hired minorities eat in the plant's cafeteria.

4. Mrs. James, speaking at the PTA meeting "We must do everything we can to assure that we bring quality education within the reach of all of the students in this district. That means black, white, red, and yellow alike. We are all brothers and sisters under the skin. If we forgot it even for a moment, then we are all being poor parents and poor citizens."

Later, speaking to her son, who wishes to go to play at the home of one of his classmates who is a member of another race: "I cannot let you go to one of "their" houses. It is a known fact how they live. None of them ever cares about a decent home life. I know what kinds of things go on there. No child of mine is going to be exposed to things like that."

****

Robert, speaking to a group of his teammates from the school's basketball team: "Hey, I'd really like to go for pizza with you, but I have to get home to help my mom with some chores. Thanks for asking me, though."

As he is speaking, he thinks: "If anyone sees me going places with them, they would think that I'm an Oreo, and for sure I'm no Oreo."

TOPIC III - THE MYTH OF WHITE SUPREMACY

Student Aim - Why is white supremacy a dangerous idea?

Instructional Objectives

1. Pupils will understand that the theory of white supremacy is a myth.
2. They will gain an understanding of the harm that has been caused by racist ideas.
3. They will understand how hate groups use the theory of white supremacy to sow hatred and dissension.
4. They will comprehend the divisiveness that racist ideas continue to have in a multi-racial and multi-ethnic society like ours.

Approach

Read the following quotation to the class:

> [History] shows us that all civilizations derive from the white race, that none can exist without its help, and that a society is great and brilliant only so far as it preserves the blood of the noble group that created it....
>
> Joseph Arthur, Comte de
> Gobineau,(1816-1882)
> The Inequality of Human Races
> 1853-55 - English Translation,
> 1915

1. Discuss the quotation.
    - Define "race" - A group of people distinguished by inherited physical characteristics.
    - What characteristics does Gobineau ascribe to the white race?
    - What does he mean when he speaks of "preserving the blood" of the group?

2. Explain that the hate groups hold the same beliefs about the white race as does Gobineau. Gobineau has been labeled "The Father of Modern Racism."

3. Define racism - The belief in the inherent superiority of a particular race. All other races are considered inferior and can be dominated, and even destroyed

    - A racist is a person who believes in the inherent superiority of a particular race.

    - White racists believe in white supremacy, i.e., in the superiority of the white race over all other races.

Development

1. Distribute to the students Reading 1 for Topic III: The Racist Ideas of the Hate Groups. Ask them to list the major premises of the theory of white supremacy.

    - The white race is superior to all others. It, and more particularly, the northern Germanic peoples, created all of human culture. Note J.B. Stoner's use of a capital W each time he writes the word "white."

    - The races must be kept apart. Non-white blood pollutes and destroys the white race.

    - Blacks are inferior to whites.

    - Jews are behind the blacks in a plot to prove the equality of men (Hitler); in a plot to mix the races and thus destroy the purity of the white race. (Stoner).

    - All non-white immigration to America must be stopped. Those non-whites already here must be "removed." Note: The hate groups consider as "white" only white Christians of European ancestry, preferably of Northern European ancestry. All others are labeled as "non-white."

2. What does science have to say about the theory of white supremacy? - Distribute Reading 2 for Topic III: Race: Science and Politics by Ruth Benedict. Explain to the students that Ruth Benedict (1887-1948) was a famous anthropologist, and the book from which the reading was excerpted is now considered a classic. In the discussion of the reading, include the following questions:

- How does the biblical story of Adam and Eve agree with what science tells us about the family of man?

- How are the races of man the same?

- How are the races of man different?

- What is the connection between race and civilization?

3. Students should reach the conclusion that the theory of white supremacy is a myth.

4. The Nazi ideas of racial superiority resulted in the genocide of 6 million Jews. Define genocide - the deliberate and systematic destruction of a people. How is it possible for a group of people to believe so firmly in their own superiority and in another group's inferiority that they can murder members of the so-called inferior group without pity or remorse?

5. If a hate group gained power in the United States, what steps do you think they would take against those they considered inferior?

6. Explain to the class that even here in the United States - a country where people of different races, nationalities, and religions have been able to live together in peace and friendship - there have been times in our history when racist ideas were accepted by so many that laws were passed against those considered "inferior." Readings are included on three examples of legislation which were influenced by the theory of white supremacy:

   a. "Jim Crow" laws segregating blacks. Passed by the southern states in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Based on a belief in black inferiority and incompetence, these laws relegated blacks to an inferior grade of citizenship. In 1886, in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson, the Supreme Court sanctioned segregation by declaring "separate but equal" facilities constitutional. - Reading 3 for Topic III: Report of the Committee on Grievances at the State Convention of Colored Men of Texas, 1883.

   b. Immigration legislation of the 1920's. Based on the belief that immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe were inferior to those from Northern Europe, and therefore, limiting their entrance into the United States. - Reading 4 for Topic III: The Alien In Our Midst.

   c. Relocation of Japanese-Americans to internment camps during World War II on the assumption that they would otherwise give aid to the enemy. Americans of German and Italian ancestry were not interned. Reading 5 for Topic III: Mass Internment Revisited - Darkly.

7. Discuss the readings.

8. Ask the students to use information gained in their history courses to describe how in each of the above cases the American people have since rejected the ideas of white supremacy.

   a. The Supreme Court Decision of 1954 (Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas) which declared segregated schools unconstitutional; the Civil Rights Act of 1964; the Voting Rights Act of 1965; and all the other civil rights legislation since then which has resulted in the integration of black Americans into all aspects of American society (See Topic VIII: The History of the Ku Klux Klan, Reading 10: Civil Rights Documents)

   b. The Immigration Act of 1965 which abolished the national origins quota system.

   c. Japanese-Americans are a fully accepted and integral part of American society today. Legislation has been introduced in Congress to compensate Japanese-Americans for the indignities they suffered during World War II.

Summary-Application

In a multi-racial, multi-cultural society like ours, why is it so important to be constantly on our guard against racist behavior?

Follow-Up Activity

View color, sound filmstrip: Master Race Myth, available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017.

The filmstrip emphasizes the fact that all people really are similar, and that differences are mainly due to varied environments. (c.15 minutes)

Readings for Topic III

1. The Racist Ideas Of The Hate Groups

   A. Two Selections From Hitler's Mein Kampf

   B. The Philosophy of White Racism by J.B. Stoner, National Chairman - National States Rights Party. Excerpted from The Thunderbolt, Oct. 1973

2. Ruth Benedict, Race: Science and Politics (New York: The Viking Press Inc., 1959)

3. Report of the Committee on Grievances At The State Convention of Colored Men of Texas, 1883. Adapted from Proceedings of the State Convention of Colored Men of Texas, as quoted in Thomas R. Frazier, ed. Afro-American History: Primary Sources (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1970)

4. Robert De Courcy Ward, The Alien In Our Midst (New York: Galton Publishing Co., 1930)

5. Mass Internment Revisited - Darkly. Newsday, July 15, 1981

Reading 1 for Topic III

The Racist Ideas Of The Hate Groups

A.

Two Selections From Hitler's Mein Kampf

Racist thinking was central to Nazi ideas and beliefs. Hitler believed that the world was divided into two groups - a superior Germanic "Aryan" race, and the non-Aryan or inferior races, of whom the two lowest groups were Jews and Blacks. His ideas have had an enormous influence on American hate groups.

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All the human culture, all the results of art, science, and technology that we see before us today, are almost exclusively the creative product of the Aryan. This very fact admits of the not unfounded inference that he alone was the founder of all higher humanity, therefore representing the prototype of all that we understand by the word 'man'....

If we were to divide mankind into three groups, the founders of culture, the bearers of culture, the destroyers of culture, only the Aryan could be considered as the representative of the first group. From him originate the foundations and walls of all human creation, and only the outward form and color are determined by the changing traits of character of the various peoples.

Hitler, Mein Kampf, p.290.

From time to time illustrated papers bring it to the attention of the German petty-bourgeois that some place or other a Negro has for the first time become a lawyer, teacher, even a pastor, in fact a heroic tenor, or something of the sort. While the idiotic bourgeoisie looks with amazement at such miracles of education, full of respect for this marvelous result of modern educational skill, the Jew shrewdly draws from it a new proof for the soundness of his theory about the equality of men that he is trying to funnel into the minds of the nations. It doesn't dawn on this depraved bourgeois world that this is positively a sin against all reason; that it is criminal lunacy to keep on drilling a born half-ape until people think they have made a lawyer out of him, while millions of members of the highest culture-race must remain in entirely unworthy positions...

Hitler, Mein Kampf, p.430.

B.

The Philosophy Of White Racism

J.B. Stoner, National Chairman - National States Rights Party

Excerpted from The Thunderbolt,
October 1973

What is a White racist? A White racist is a person who loves the great White Race and who is doing his part and his duty to preserve it. At the present time in history, that means many things. It means increasing the White birthrate fast enough so that Whites will be an overwhelming majority in every White country, now and forever, as long as the earth is here. A person who loves the White Race will oppose all race mixing. He will oppose the entrance of all non-Whites into White countries. He will support programs that are designed to remove all non-Whites from the White countries of the earth. White racists will always support White racist political action that is designed to increase White power....

DEFEAT THE ENEMY

It is necessary for every White racist to recognize the fact that the White Race does have enemies. We White racists must do that which is necessary to defeat the enemies of our Race. Certainly, the negro is an enemy with his crime, his violence and his high birthrate. Even in a more devastating way, the negro is a biological enemy, and that is true of every negro who is able to breed. That is true because one drop of negro blood pollutes the White blood. The issue of interbreeding between a White person and a negro, or a part negro, is never White. Such a union always produces another negro even though he may be lighter than most other negroes....

As you probably know, lions and tigers in the wild do not interbreed because it is not natural. However, they have been known to do so in captivity. In their natural state, White people would not interbreed with negroes. However, in the captivity of Jew propaganda and of the Jew news media and Jewish control of education, innocent White people are duped into mating with negroes even though it is unnatural...

The negro is a violent enemy and he is a biological enemy because negro blood destroys White blood when the two are mixed together. However, the negro is not the enemy. The Jew is THE enemy of our White Race and the Jew is using the negro in an effort to destroy the White Race that he so passionately hates.

Simply observe Jew Propaganda on radio, television, in Hollywood, in the schools, in the newspapers, in the churches, in community life and in politics and you will see that the Jews are the driving force behind the mixing of the races. That is why we White racists must love our White Race enough to defeat the Jews as well as the negroes. Without Jew power supporting the negroes, it would be easy to solve the negro problem. The Jews use negroes in their efforts to destroy our White Race by polluting its blood stream with the jungle blood of Africa. We must love our White Race enough to face up to such facts....

Reading 2 For Topic III

Race: Science and Politics

Ruth Benedict

(New York: The Viking Press
Inc., 1959), pp.171-186

One Human Race

The Bible story of Adam and Eve, father and mother of the whole human race, told centuries ago the same truth that science has shown today: that all the peoples of the earth are a single family and have a common origin. Science describes the intricate make-up of the human body; all its different organs co-operating in keeping us alive, its curious anatomy that couldn't possibly have "just happened" to be the same in all men if they did not have a common origin. Take the structure of the human foot, for instance. When you list all the little bones and muscles and the joints of the toes, it is impossible to imagine that that would all have happened twice. Or take our teeth: so many front teeth, so many canines, so many molars. Who can imagine finding the same arrangements in two human species if they weren't one family?

The fact of the unity of the human race is proved, therefore, in its anatomy. It is proved also by the close similarity in what all races are physically fitted for. No difference among human races has affected limbs and teeth and relative strength so that one race is biologically outfitted like a lion and another biologically outfitted like a lamb. All races of men can either plow or fight, and all the racial differences among them are in nonessentials such as texture of hair, amount of body hair, shape of the nose or head, or color of the eyes and the skin. The white race is the hairiest, but a white man's hair isn't thick enough to keep him warm in cold climates. The Negro's dark skin gives him some protection against strong sunlight in the tropics, and white men often have to take precautions against sunstroke. But the war has shown that white men can work and fight even in a tropical desert. Today white men in hot countries wear sun helmets and protect themselves with clothes and rub their skin with suntan oil. Very dark-skinned people in the north, too, can add cod-liver oil and orange juice to their diet, and, if they need to, take a vitamin pill or two. The shape of the head, too, is a racial trait; but whether it is round or long, it can house a good brain.

The races of mankind are what the Bible says they are--brothers. In their bodies is the record of their brotherhood.

WHAT ARE RACE DIFFERENCES?

The greatest adventure story in the history of the world is the spread of early man to all corners of the globe. With crude tools, without agriculture, without domesticated animals except the dog, he pressed on, from somewhere in Asia, to the tip of Africa, to the British Isles, across the Bering Strait into America and down to Cape Horn. He occupied the islands of the Pacific and the continent of Australia. The world had a small population then, and many of these pioneers were for centuries as separated from other peoples as if they lived on another planet. Slowly they developed physical differences.

Those who settled nearer the equator, whether in Europe, Asia, or in the Americas, developed a darker skin color than those who settled to the north of them. People's hair is often the same over great areas: frizzy hair, lank hair, wavy hair. Europeans remained quite hairy, but in some parts of the world body hair almost disappeared. Blue eyes appeared in the north. In some places in Asia a fold of skin developed over the inner corner of the eye and produced what we call a slant eye....

Blood the Same

For ages men have spoken of "blood relations" as if different peoples had different blood. Some people have shouted that if we got into our veins the blood of someone with a different head shape, eye color, hair texture, or skin color, we should get some of that person's physical and mental characteristics.

Modern science has revealed this to be pure superstition. All human blood is the same, whether it is the blood of an Eskimo or a Frenchman, of the "purest" German "Aryan" or an African pygmy--except for one medically important difference. This medical difference was discovered when doctors first began to use blood transfusion in order to save life. In early attempts at transfusion it was discovered that "agglutination" or clumping together of the red cells sometimes occurred and caused death. Gradually investigors learned that there are four types of blood, called O, A, B and AB; and that although blood type O can be mixed successfully with the other three, none of these can be mixed with one another without clumping.

These four types of blood are inherited by each child from its forebears. But Whites, Negroes, Mongols--all races of man have all these blood types. The color of their skin does not tell which blood type they have. You and an Australian bushman may have the same blood type. Because you inherit your bodily traits from your many different ancestors, you may have a different blood type from your mother or father or your brothers and sisters. You may have eyes like your mother's, teeth and hair like your father's, feet like your grandfather's, and a blood type like your great-grandmother's....

Color

Finally, let us take skin color, the most noticeable of the differences between peoples. Few traits have been used as widely to classify people. We all talk about Black, White, and Yellow races of man.

In the world today the darkest people are in West Africa, the lightest people in northwest Europe, while in southeast Asia are men of yellowish-tan skins. Most people in the world, however, are not of these extremes but are in-betweens. These in-betweens probably have the skin shades that were once most common, the white, yellow, and dark brown or black being extreme varieties.

Recently scientists found that skin color is determined by two special chemicals. One of these, carotene, gives a yellow tinge; the other, melanin, contributes the brown. These colors, along with the pinkish tinge that comes when the blood vessels show through, give various shades to the human skin. Every person, however light or dark his skin may appear, has some of each of these materials in his skin. The one exception is the albino, who lacks coloring substances--and albinos appear among dark-and light-skinned people alike. People of browner complexions simply have more melanin in their skin, people of yellowish color more carotene. It is not an all-or-nothing difference; it is difference in proportion. Your skin color is due to the amount of these chemicals present in the skin....

Civilization Not Caused by Race

History proves that progress in civilization is not the monopoly of one race or subrace. When our white forebears in Europe were rude Stone Age primitives, the civilization of the Babylonians and the Egyptians had already flourished and been eclipsed. There were great Negro states in Africa when Europe was a sparsely settled forest. Negroes made iron tools and wove fine cloth for their clothing when fair-skinned Europeans wore skins and knew nothing of iron.

When Europe was just emerging from the Middle Ages, Marco Polo visited China and found there a great civilization, the like of which he had never imagined. Europe was a frontier country in those days compared with China....

Inventions pass, too, from one continent to another when people trade with each other. This has happened since the dawn of history. About 5000 years ago, when Europe was on the frontiers of the civilized world, Asiatics came to trade in Europe and North Africa in great caravans. They followed the main rivers--the Nile into North Africa, the Danube into Europe, and the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers out of Asia. People from all over came in contact with one another and compared notes on what they knew. In this way they pooled their knowledge, and out of this combined knowledge came the great inventions of civilization--massive building and the arts of metallurgy, chemistry, writing, medicine, and mathematics; transportation on wheels. The idea of printing and the use of movable type are old Chinese inventions, and our power engines depend upon a knowledge of explosives that the Chinese worked out with firecrackers.

When Columbus discovered America, corn, "Irish" potatoes, tobacco, and "Boston" beans were unknown in Europe. They had been developed by American Indians. Within ten years corn was being planted in Central Asia and in the interior of Africa, and African tribes today think that corn was given them by their own gods "in the beginning."

All races have made their contributions to human knowledge....Peoples who came into contact with strangers, however, gave what arts of life they had and took what the strangers had. These contributions to civilization accumulated over the centuries and on this accumulation new discoveries are based. We are all the gainers....

The United States is the greatest crossroads of the world in all history. People have come here from every race and nation, and almost every race in the world is represented among our citizens. They have brought with them their own ways of cooking food, so that our "American" diet is indebted to a dozen peoples. Our turkey, corn, and cranberries come from the Indians. Our salads we borrowed from the French and Italians. Increasingly in recent years we have enriched our tables with soups from Russia, vegetables from Italy, appetizers from the Scandinavian countries, seafoods from the Mediterranean lands, chile and tortillas from Mexico, and so on almost endlessly. At the same time, everywhere we have gone in the world, we have popularized ice cream, beefsteak, breakfast cereals, corn on the cob, and other foods that are called "American."

Industry in the United States has taken the hand-skills of our immigrants and made machines to do the work; without their skills we should not have known how. Our music, our buildings have developed from patterns brought to our shores or learned from every quarter of the world. Our country would be poorer in every phase of its culture if different cultures had not come together here, sharing and learning the special contributions each had to offer.

Reading 3 For Topic III

Report Of The Committee On Grievances At The State Convention Of Colored Men Of Texas, 1883

Adapted from Proceedings of the State Convention of Colored Men of Texas, held at the City of Austin, July 10-12, 1883. As quoted in Thomas R. Frazier, ed., Afro-American History: Primary Sources (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1970) pp. 178-183

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

We, your Committee on Grievances, beg leave to make the following report: We find that the denial to the colored people of the free exercise of many of the rights of citizenship is due to the fact of there being such great prejudice against them as a race. This prejudice was engendered from the belief which underlay the institution of slavery, and which kept that institution alive, and built it to the enormous proportions which it has attained; that is, the belief that the Negro was intended by the Divine Creator as servants and menials for the more favored races; hence, was not to be accorded the rights and privileges exercised by other races...

Free Schools: The Constitution, and laws made in pursuance thereof, make provisions for the education of the youth of the State, without regard to race or previous condition....

What we complain of is, that notwithstanding the Constitution, laws, courts, and the Board of Education have decided that provision of each race must be equal and impartial....Many cities make shameful discrimination because the colored people do not own as much property on which to pay taxes as the white people do, in proportion to the number of children in each race. They utterly refuse to give colored schools the same provision as to character of buildings, furniture, number and grade of teachers as required by law. The result of this discrimination if that the white schools of such cities show good fruit, while the colored show poor fruit or none at all....

Railways, Inns and Taverns: The criticisms and censures of many, that colored persons in demanding admission to the first class cars are...unjust and unwarranted. For those who censure know that if the companies were to furnish accommodations for colored passengers holding first class tickets, equal to the accommodations furnished white passengers holding the same, though such accommodations be in separate cars, no complaint will be made. But selling two classes of passengers the same kind of tickets, at the same time and price, certainly sell to them the same accommodations and privileges. The colored people, like any other class of citizens, will contend for the right in this matter as long as our Constitution reads, "all men when they form a social compact have equal rights," and even longer.

As for accommodations at public inns, taverns and hotels, we have the same right as other races to be accommodated on equal terms and conditions, though we cannot compel them to accommodate us in the same room, at the same table or even in the same building, but the proprietor can be compelled to make provision as good...

Reading 4 For Topic III

The Alien In Our Midst

Robert DeCourcy Ward

Robert DeCourcy Ward (1867-1931),
a professor at Harvard, helped
found the Immigration Restriction
League in 1894. (New York: Galton
Publishing Co., 1930), pp.230-33

"Never shall ye make the crab walk straight. Never shall ye make the sea-urchin smooth." Thus, many centuries ago, Aristophanes disposed of the fallacy of the Melting-Pot. Up to recent times, we have ignored the principle of selection in our immigration legislation. Our policy of opening the gates to all who would come in meant that we recognized no distinctions among our immigrants. We refused to recognize that one group or nationality provided better material for citizenship than another. We proceeded on the theory that the United States could, in the great American Melting-Pot, crystallize millions of aliens, of all nations, habits and languages, flocking to us from every quarter of the globe, into a new, homogeneous race, better and finer than the world had ever known! We deceived ourselves into thinking that we could change inferior beings into superior ones. We thought that sending alien children to school, teaching them English, giving them flag drills, and making them read the Declaration of Independence and recite the Gettysburg Address, would make them Americans almost over night. Yet the laws of heredity are at work. We cannot make a heavy draft horse into a trotter by keeping him in a racing stable. We cannot make a well-bred dog out of a mongrel by teaching him tricks. Nor can we make a race true to the American type by any process of Americanization, essential as that undertaking is for creating better citizenship. It is distinctly the trend of modern biological discovery that heredity is far more important than environment in determining not only the physical but also the mental characteristics of men. As Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn has well said: "We are slowly awakening to the consciousness that education and environment do not fundamentally alter racial values....The true spirit of American Democracy, that all men are born with equal rights and duties, has been confused with the political sophistry that all men are born with equal character and ability to govern themselves and others, and with the educational sophistry that education and environment will offset the handicap of ancestry...."

What goes into the Melting-Pot determines what must come out of it. If we put into it sound, sturdy stock, akin to the pioneer breed which first peopled this country and founded its institutions; if these new stocks are not only sound physically but alert mentally, then we shall develop a race here worthy to carry on the ideals and traditions of the founders of our country. But if the material fed into the Melting-Pot is a polyglot assortment of nationalities, physically, mentally and morally below par, then there can be no hope of producing anything but an inferior race....

Reading 5 for Topic III

Newsday
July 15, 1981

Mass Internment Revisited—Darkly

Combined News Services

Washington—Former Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas testified yesterday that racial prejudice, not national security, had led to the mass internment of people of Japanese descent in World War II. He called the episode a tragic error, an outrage and an unconscionable and irrational deed.

"I think it is clear—perhaps it was always clear—that the mass evacuation order was never justified," Fortas told an official inquiry into events that happened nearly 40 years ago.

The nine-member commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians will hold further hearings in various cities as it reviews the internment ordered by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in February, 1942, and determines what, if any, redress is owed the people affected and their descendants.

"I cannot escape the conclusion that racial prejudice was a basic ingredient" of the internment, Fortas said. "Even the trauma of war does not excuse irrational and needless assaults upon human beings and senseless violations of our fundamental constitutional principles."

Fortas, an under secretary in the Interior Department from 1942 to 1946, when 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry were interned, said the camps were humanely administered, but "this fact does not and should not absolve our nation or relieve the national conscience."

Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii), who lost his right arm fighting in Italy as a member of the famed 442nd Regimental Combat Team, admonished the commission to "make your report one that will awaken this experience enough to haunt the conscience of this nation—haunt it so we will never forget that we are capable of such an act."

Hawaii's large Japanese population was not interned.

Inouye's colleague from Hawaii, Sen. Spark Matsunaga, called the evacuation of the Japanese-Americans, "in what can only be described as American-style concentration camps," one of the darkest pages in American history.

James Rowe, 72, the No. 2 man in the Justice Department at the time, blamed the decision to intern West Coast Japanese—but not Germans and Italians—on fear and hysteria that followed the attack on Pearl Harbor. No distinction was made between those who were American citizens and who were not.

"The great phrase was 'military necessity,'" he said. "A handful of people like me were against the evacuation right from the beginning, but we didn't have any allies." Among those supporting the uprooting and relocation of the Japanese, he said, was Earl Warren, then a prosecuting attorney and later governor of California and chief justice of the United States. "There was hysteria all over the place," Rowe said.

"Did anyone go to the president and say, 'This is legally and morally wrong?'" asked Arthur Goldberg, a commission member and former Supreme Court justice.

"It's a hard question," Rowe said. "I do not know." He said that Roosevelt probably did not spend much time on the question. "The President made the decision," he said, "but I don't really think he spent much time on it. It's a serious thing to say, but I think it was a minor thing to him."

Rowe said that several cabinet officers were bothered about the relocation and that even FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover thought it unnecessary.

In the months following the Dec. 7, 1941, attack on Pearl Harbor, Rowe said, rumors abounded: three American ships had been sunk off the Pacific coast, and the coastline had been shelled. "You could hear anything you wanted. It was all fear, all hysteria," he said.

"I don't know how you can be on the run and up against the wall at the same time, but that's how we [Justice Department] felt," Rowe said. "We were under pressure from the Congress and from the Army. We could have done a hell of a lot better job, and we didn't do it. But we were all they had."

Another witness, Gordon Hirabayashi, told the commission that those who were relocated deserve more than $3 billion in compensation. In the Supreme Court during World War II, he had unsuccessfully challenged the use of ancestry as the sole criterion for detaining Japanese-Americans. "Monetary compensation, no matter how much, can never adequately compensate for the losses suffered," Hirabayashi said. "Any amount would be but a token. In our system of justice, however, that token should be relative to the seriousness of the offense. Therefore, it must be substantial."

Rowe said he opposed financial compensation. "If the Japanese-Americans want an apology, good," he said. "They are entitled to it. But what good it'll do them, after 40 years, I don't know."

TOPIC IV - SCAPEGOATING AS A TOOL OF THE HATE MOVEMENT

Student Aim - How can we recognize scapegoating as a basic tool of hate groups?

Instructional Objectives

1. Pupils will understand the components of scapegoating.
2. They will be able to identify the use of scapegoating by hate groups.
3. They will recognize the dangers of scapegoating.

Approach

1. Call on students to describe situations in everyday life where someone is censured or punished undeservedly; e.g.,
    - a businessman blowing up at his wife's cooking after a difficult day at the office.
    - a child being spanked hard by an overworked, unhappy parent for a minor infraction.
    - a driver who has just been ticketed for speeding chastising his son severely for talking too much.
2. Develop the idea that scapegoating is a practice that is common to our everyday living -- however, when a whole racial, ethnic or religious group is scapegoated, that is prejudice in its most hostile form.

Development

1. Ask students to refer back to the reading, "A Continuum of Social Relationships Among Human Groups" (Reading 4 for Topic II).

    Note the features of scapegoating:

    - It is a form of aggression in word or in action. Stress the emphasis on aggression.

- It is directed against someone who is undeserving of punishment, rather than the source of the frustration or deprivation.

- Often times the victim is weaker and cannot fight back.

Define a scapegoat as one against whom unjustified hostility and aggression is directed.

2. Let us try to analyze more thoroughly the motivations behind scapegoating. Distribute Reading 1 For Topic IV: Motives In Scapegoating.

   - Discuss the six motivations behind scapegoating that are enumerated in the reading.

3. Tell the class that here in the United States we have scapegoated various groups at different times in our history. Can they think of any examples from their studies in American history?

   - The "witches" in Salem, Mass.

   - The socialists and anarchists during World War I.

   - The Japanese-Americans during World War II.

   - A variety of immigrant groups. For example: Catholic immigrants in the 1830's, 1840's, and 1850's, scapegoated by mobs, and by the Know-Nothing Party.

4. Explain that as a case study, we will analyze the scapegoating of the Chinese residents of California in the late 19th century.

5. Distribute copies of Reading 2 for Topic IV: The Scapegoating of the Chinese In California, 1870 - 1880. Ask the students to keep in mind the motivations behind scapegoating as they read the selection.

6. In the discussion of the reading the following points should be included:

   - The frustration of many people at the time because of the bad economic situation. Motivations behind scapegoating: thwarting and deprivation; fear and anxiety.

   - The resulting decision to scapegoat the Chinese for all economic troubles. Motivations behind scapegoating: tabloid thinking, guilt evasion, conformity.

- The Chinese were an ideal target--of a different culture, easy to identify, defenseless.

- The scapegoating took a number of different forms. Note how verbal attacks on Chinese by union leaders, politicians, and newspapers led to anti-Chinese legislation, then to physical attacks on individual Chinese, and finally, to riots and murder.

- The workingmen's political parties and other groups used the scapegoating of the Chinese to gain greater power.

- There were practically no Chinese in the rest of the United States, yet the same economic problems existed as well. Why was this not obvious to the Californians?

7. Refer students to the sentence in Reading 1: Motives In Scapegoating that calls Hitler "the arch-scapegoater." Why?

    - He successfully scapegoated an entire people--the Jews. First, he deprived them of all rights, and then he finally murdered six million of them.

8. Why was Hitler able to scapegoat the Jews?

    - The German economy was in a deep depression.

    - The Jews were a small part of the German population.

    - There was great prejudice against Jews that had developed over centuries because Jews were not Christians. The idea of toleration for different religious beliefs is relatively recent. (Remind students that Pilgrims, Puritans, Quakers, and Catholics all came to America seeking religious freedom.) Jews were scapegoated throughout the Middle Ages in Christian Europe.

    - The Nazis used tremendous propaganda in the newspapers, in books, on the radio, and in the schools, to stereotype Jews as evil, and to urge all Germans to scapegoat Jews.

9. Distribute Reading 3 for Topic IV: You Have To Be Taught To Scapegoat People - Discuss the reading.

    - Notice how easily most of the children agreed to scapegoat Jews.

- What factors stopped Inge from accepting the Nazi picture of Jews?

10. Explain that just as the Nazis carefully taught the Germans to scapegoat the Jews, the hate movement in the United States is hoping to convince Americans to scapegoat certain groups.

    Think back to the statements of hate groups that we have read. Which groups of Americans are most vulnerable to scapegoating?

    - Blacks - prejudice against blacks in the United States has a long history, and discrimination against blacks in the United States also has a long history. Hate groups believe it should be easy to turn such prejudice and discrimination into scapegoating.

    - Jews - over the centuries have been scapegoats. The hate groups also pattern themselves after Nazi Germany. When hate groups accuse Jews of manipulating blacks, they are tying the two groups together to reinforce the scapegoating of both.

    - Recent immigrants - especially Orientals and Hispanics - because of nativism (the policy of keeping America "pure"), fear of strangers, and fear of economic competition. Ours is a nation of immigrants, but every wave of immigration since the 1830's has been accompanied by opposition from certain groups.

Summary - Application

Read aloud the following statement:

> The decade of the 1970's was a time of uncertainty about the directions we were taking as a nation in the fading wake of Vietnam and Watergate. It saw the start of galloping inflation and growing unemployment. There were immense social changes, including a sexual revolution, an infusion of drugs and pornography, climbing crime statistics and general permissiveness in the culture.
>
> From an unpublished Anti-Defamation League Report on Extremist Groups

- Ask students to analyze the implications of the statement in terms of possible hate group activity.

- To structure the discussion students can refer to the last line in Reading 4 for Topic II: A Continuum of Social Relationships Among Human Groups:

"Finally, if conditions are ripe -- if frustration, ignorance, and propaganda combine in proper proportions -- discrimination breaks over into scapegoating."

Suggested Follow-up Activity

1. View sound, color filmstrip, Scapegoating, which explores what scapegoating is through three case studies, and which also shows how it differs from discrimination. Available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017.

Readings for Topic IV - Scapegoating As A Tool Of The Hate Movement

1. Motives In Scapegoating - Gordon W. Allport, ABC's of Scapegoating - (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1979).

2. The Scapegoating Of The Chinese In California, 1870-1880 - Nina Hersch Gabelko and John U. Michaelis, Reducing Adolescent Prejudice (New York: Teachers College Press, 1981).

3. You Have To Be Taught To Scapegoat People - Milton Meltzer, Never To Forget: The Jews of the Holocaust (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).

Reading 1 For Topic IV

Motives In Scapegoating

Gordon W. Allport, ABC's of
Scapegoating (New York: Anti-
Defamation League of B'nai
B'rith, 1979), pp. 11-14.

We now examine the motivations behind scapegoating.

A. Thwarting and Deprivation

People are often deprived of what they want or what they have. Such deprivation frequently results in anxiety and then in aggression. In scapegoating, such aggression is directed not against the source of the thwarting or deprivation, but against some other object that happens to be convenient. Sometimes this scapegoat is at least partially to blame. But as a rule, the scapegoat is made to pay not only for the deprivations in which he may have played some minor part, but also for frustrations of long standing, most of which have nothing whatever to do with the scapegoat. The cat sharpening her claws on the rug may annoy one, but after a bad day at the office, the kick one directs at the cat is likely to be more vicious than usual.

In times of social crisis our deprivations are multiplied many times: prices are high, so too are taxes; war threatens; the H-Bomb hangs over us; we grow fearful. There is no direct action we may take to do away with these deprivations and threats, therefore we respond to our frustrations by scapegoating the Government, the Negro, Labor, the "Reactionary" or the "Communist" or the Foreigner, or the religion of the other fellow.

B. Guilt Evasion

Guilt feelings arise from the omission or commission of certain deeds. Such feelings may be relieved by blaming others for one's own sins. This projection of guilt onto others is the classic form of scapegoating. The goat carries our burden of sin. Hitler, the arch-scapegoater, blamed the Jews for precisely those crimes against morality and decency of which he himself was eminently guilty: conspiracy, war-making, demoralizing the social life of the community, sex perversion. It made Hitler feel innocent to heap his sins and those of his countrymen on the heads of an irrelevant group.

Such guilt-projection is common. All of us are prone to this weakness. We never feel so innocent as when we "see" and criticize our own sins in other people.

C. Fear and Anxiety

1. Fear is an acute feeling that some specific danger threatens us. It may be reduced or dispelled by a preventive attack on what is considered to be the threat. Often in time of war, we do not distinguish between real and pseudo-threats.

Our fears of spies and saboteurs in wartime led us to be unduly suspicious of foreigners and of innocent minority groups. For many months all of the Pacific Coast Japanese-Americans were held in internment camps, although few, if any at all, were really spies.

2. Anxiety is a vaguer anticipation of danger. Like fear, it represents a feeling of insecurity. It can be alleviated by rationalizations which take the form of verbal scapegoating.

In times of social strain, like the present, we may not actually intern a minority group. But it helps "explain" our vague anxieties to ourselves if we talk about the disloyalty, conspiracies, or threat of other groups. With all these menaces around us, why shouldn't we feel jittery and anxious? We talk and lie, and lie and talk, about such "dangerous" groups, hoping thereby to relieve our anxiety - or at least to explain it to ourselves.

D. Self-Enhancement

1. Feelings of inferiority may lead to scapegoating, in order that the individual may convince himself of his own value and strength.

The physically weak child by verbally scapegoating another child, affirms his own strength. Or he may bully a still weaker child in compensation for his own feelings of inferiority.

2. The individual who feels insecure may obtain comfort by allying himself with a distinctive ("better" and "different") group, and thus bolster his ego.

It is no accident that hate groups take on the insignia of pomp and ritual. Nor is it strange that the mumbo-jumbo of the Ku Klux Klan, of the White Citizens' Councils...and of similar organizations, should attract largely the insecure, the negligible, the nobodies of our society. An inflation of the ego results from joining with others who declare themselves better than some scapegoated group (of different complexion, foreign origin, or different faith).

3. Very important as a factor in scapegoating is the demagogue's desire for power. Scapegoating is a useful tool in his attempt to gain

power, for it helps to achieve unity among supporters. He tells them that the group they hate is in fact responsible for their troubles, and that by rallying around him, the leader, they can most effectively defeat their enemy. The demagogue creates a bogey in order to solidify his own leadership. He often benefits financially.

E. Conformity

Conformity makes for security. If everyone around us is given to scapegoating, and particularly those we value highly, then only by imitating their actions can we be fully accepted in the group whose approval we desire. Many Germans scapegoated the Jews to establish themselves as acceptable Nazis and thus avoid persecution for themselves. In our own society most people will agree with a bigot rather than contradict him to his face lest they lose caste in the bigot's eyes.

Conformity may be less deliberate than in the above case. An individual may conform to the current pattern of prejudice and persecution simply because he habitually imitates the prevailing folkways. He is scarcely aware that he is an imitator.

F. Tabloid Thinking

Periods of social strain bring out vividly the helplessness every individual feels in the face of world-wide forces. He must seek to simplify the issues in order to make possible some understanding of this social chaos. It is less trouble to think of "the bankers," or the army "brass hats" as responsible for war, than to figure out its complex economic and cultural causes. Simplifications of issues provides for economy of energy: if a person feels hostile and aggressive it is more economical for him to attack one single obstacle in his path than to diffuse his attack upon the many not-fully-understood causes of his difficulties....

An issue seems nicely simplified if we blame a group or class of people rather than the complex course of social and historical forces.

It is much easier to blame the Democrats or the Republicans in Congress for some policy of which we disapprove than to look up the voting records of individuals and find out who is really to blame (undoubtedly a mixture of Republicans and Democrats).

Reading 2 For Topic IV

The Scapegoating Of The Chinese In California, 1870-1880

Nina Hersch Gabelko and John
U. Michaelis, Reducing
Adolescent Prejudice (New
York: Teachers College Press,
1981) pp. 209-211.

A NATION-WIDE DEPRESSION CREATES A PANIC IN CALIFORNIA

In 1873, the United States entered a period of very serious economic depression. There were almost no jobs to be had. Those who had work were not necessarily being paid enough money to pay for the necessities of life. In California, the Comstock Lode, which many thought would produce a never-ending supply of gold, seemed to have dried up. The stock market in San Francisco crashed. Then in 1875, the Bank of California went broke, and all of its depositors lost their money.

A panic broke out. The situation was desperate. There were many more people needing work than there was work for them to do. The competition for each available job was very fierce. Many employers took this opportunity to lower the wages that they had been paying to their workers. The economic situation from coast to coast in the United States ranged from serious to desperate.

THE EFFECTS OF THE DEPRESSION AND THE PANIC OVER THE CHINESE

The Chinese workers in California were blamed by the newly formed labor unions for the low wages and depressed conditions that everyone was suffering during the depression. The women and children in the work force were working for wages as low as, or even lower than, the Chinese workers. However, they were not blamed for the poor working conditions.

The new labor unions and the worker's political parties that had formed began to push for the government to pass laws that would get rid of the Chinese who were already in the United States and would forbid any more Chinese to enter. They gained support for their cause with such slogans as "Get Rid of the Yellow Peril," "Stop Chinese Monopoly of Labor," and "The Chinese Must Go." The newspapers fanned the flames of the American worker's anger and helped turn it to hate.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA

The Chinese men who were working in California did not have the right to vote. Those who were in public office listened to the cries of the workingmen, the labor unions, and of the workingmen's political parties. Conditions were, indeed, very bad. Everyone who was suffering because of the Depression wanted to find a reason for his problems. It was easy to use the Chinese as the scapegoats for California's serious economic problems. With the scapegoating came laws that discriminated against the Chinese.

Scapegoating is the placing of all blame for a situation or condition that exists on a group of people who could not have, in reality, caused the situation to happen. Discrimination is the placing at a disadvantage of a person or a group of people, not because of anything that they have done wrong, but only because of the group that they belong to. It is not surprising that scapegoating and discrimination have appeared together throughout history. They appeared together in California from 1870 on.

Since most of the Chinese in California were in San Francisco, most of the early anti-Chinese laws were ordinances in that city. These were all laws that were clearly aimed at either making life very difficult for the Chinese, or at driving them out of San Francisco. The Chinese took their case to the courts, and one by one all of the anti-Chinese laws in San Francisco were declared unconstitutional.

But those who wanted to blame the Chinese workers for all of their economic problems kept getting new anti-Chinese laws passed. Furthermore, those who had been working to get the Chinese thrown out of their jobs in the factories and elsewhere had not thought about what the consequences of these acts would be for them and for the Chinese. Without the cheap labor, more and more factories were forced to close. Not only were the Chinese out of work, but so were all of the Americans who had worked there, and all of the many workers and suppliers it took to keep a factory going. For example, when a factory closed, it put out of work those who supplied the raw materials for that factory, those who delivered the raw goods, those who delivered the finished products, those who sold the finished products, and so on.

The American workers did not stop to analyze the situation. They knew only that they were out of work, and that their families were going hungry. They knew only that they were angry. Their anger turned to violence.

VIOLENCE AGAINST THE CHINESE

For some time the police in San Francisco had ignored the frequent violence that was being carried out against the Chinese. It had become a popular sport among the gangs of the city to capture a Chinese man and cut off his queue* to wear on their belts as a decoration. The violence continued unchecked until it got so out of hand that the police were forced to step in.

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* A queue is a braid of hair usually worn hanging at the back of the head.

In 1871, several thousand unemployed workers began to riot in the Chinese section of San Francisco. Chinese homes and businesses were burned to the ground. Many Chinese were robbed and beaten. Others were murdered. The riot lasted more than three days and nights. Not only did such violence continue in San Francisco, but it also spread to other parts of the state, and to other parts of the West Coast.

DISCRIMINATION BECOMES A PART OF THE CALIFORNIA CONSTITUTION

The economic situation continued to be very poor throughout the nation. In California, the workers continued to scapegoat the Chinese for their economic problems. The anti-Chinese movement spread from San Francisco to the rest of the state. The scapegoating found its way into the new constitution that was written and approved in California in 1879.

For example, the new constitution contained such provisions as limits placed on the numbers of Chinese who would be allowed to enter the state. Also, California corporations were forbidden by law to hire Chinese workers. The state of California was forbidden by law to allow any Chinese person to work in any government job, and the Chinese were forbidden by law to testify in court against any white person.

As before, the people who were suffering because of the serious depression that had plagued them for so long still did not look at the consequences of their acts. They thought that now that they were punishing the Chinese, all of their problems would be over. At least that is what they hoped would happen. March 4, 1880 was declared a legal holiday in California for the purpose of demonstrating against the Chinese.

The hopes of the unemployed workers were not realized. Even after the Chinese workers had been scapegoated, the economic problems of California and of the rest of the nation did not disappear.

Reading 3 For Topic IV

You Have To Be Taught To Scapegoat People

Milton Meltzer, Never To
Forget: The Jews of the
Holocaust (New York: Harper
and Row, 1976), pp. 23-24.

Inge and Lolo, the two little girls, sat at table with us. Inge had not come to see me for weeks. I asked her why, though I had a feeling that I knew the answer.

Inge looked at me as though trying to visualize me all over again. "Aunt Bella," she said, "you don't really seem so - so fiendish."

Her father reprimanded her with a stern glance. "Don't blame the child," I interceded for her. "I know what they teach her in school."

Relieved, the little one chatted on without inhibition. "I told Herr Runge, that's our teacher, that you weren't like that, Aunt Bella. So he said we didn't understand how wicked you really were. Then for the rest of the lesson, he read to us out of a book about Jews...that they are evil... they look like devils...they should all be killed. He said we should spit at them whenever we see them."

Blond, delicate, sweet Inge! The words, though not her own, came strangely from her lips.

"On our way home," Inge continued, "Ursel and I saw an old woman. She looked very poor, and we thought she might be Jewish. Ursel said we should spit at her. So we ran up to her and Ursel spat on her coat...it was an old coat...torn...I didn't spit, Aunt Bella. I thought it was disgusting. Ursel yelled at her: 'Old Jew witch!' She says that tomorrow she will tell the teacher I wouldn't spit, too."

We sat there in silence for a moment or two. Then I said: "Inge, darling, you are intelligent enough to know that evil has nothing to do with the race a person is born into. It is God who decides whether you are to be a Jew or a Christian. There are nasty people everywhere, but most people are the same, whether they are Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish. All worship the same God... the God of Love."

"I won't do it," said Inge quietly. "I won't do it. Even if they punish me."

"That's right," said her father. "I wouldn't want you to. If you could do it, I would never want to see you again."

Five days later, Ilse Kapp, pale and disturbed, came to see Bella Fromm:

"I did not come before everything was settled. The day after our talk with Inge, Herr Runge discussed the Jewish question again. 'Inge,' he said, 'do you admit that all Jews are damnable and vile?'

'No,' insisted Inge.

"Herr Runge became increasingly aggressive. Inge ever more frightened. 'Daddy says I am right,' she said.

"That same night the Gestapo came to take my brother away. We did everything in our power. He escaped with a severe warning, and some horrible scars on his body. I have just been to his house to see him."

TOPIC V - THE SCAPEGOATING OF BLACKS, JEWS, AND NEW IMMIGRANTS BY THE HATE GROUPS

Student Aim - How does the hate movement scapegoat blacks, Jews and recent immigrants?

Instructional Objectives

1. Students will be sensitized to racism and anti-Semitism, recognizing them as virulent forms of scapegoating which, if unchecked, can undermine the framework of our democratic society.
2. They will develop an awareness of the historical setting for present day scapegoating.
3. They will recognize that the charges of the hate groups against blacks, Jews and recent immigrants are rooted in lies, inaccuracies and distortions.

Approach

1. As a review, ask the class to summarize the salient features of scapegoating.
2. Propose a more thorough examination of some of the charges made by the hate movement against the groups that they scapegoat.

Development

A. The Scapegoating of Blacks

1. Read the following quotation to the class:

> "We believe that Blacks are inferior culturally and intellectually."

Statement by James Farrands, leader of the Connecticut Chapter of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - as quoted in Mark Muth, "The Klan," Black American, March 25, 1982.

- Review Gordon Allport's definition of prejudice as the attitude of a closed mind. Recall his statement that it is "impervious to evidence and to contrary argument."

2. Distribute Reading 1 for Topic V: The Closed Mind of the Hate Group Member.

   - Discuss the reading. Reinforce the conclusion students reached in the general discussion of scapegoating (Topic IV) that hate groups scapegoat people because of their own frustrations, not on any basis of truth or validity.

3. Read the following quotation to the class:

> "Many Americans are aware of the across-the-board discrimination exercised against qualified White people in opportunities of employment, promotions, scholarships and college entrance. The Ku Klux Klan has led the fight against these programs, and the Klan Grand Wizard in hundreds of radio and television appearances has relentlessly informed White people about their newly acquired second-class citizenship."
>
> \- The Crusader, (Knights of the Ku Klux Klan)
> Issue 32, August 8, 1978.

   - Discuss the quotation. Why are the hate groups making the accusation that whites are being treated unjustly?

   - Explain that starting in the late 1960's the federal government began to support a program known as "affirmative action." Affirmative action was designed to help blacks and other minorities, because in the past such groups were the victims of discriminatory practices. Under some affirmative action guidelines, minorities have been given preferential treatment by employers and school admission officers. The process has come to be known as "reverse discrimination."

   - Elicit the fact that reverse discrimination is a controversial issue. Some maintain that a democracy, which upholds the principle of equal opportunity for all, should not permit preferential treatment on the basis of race, religion, ethnic origin or sex. Others say it is necessary in order to help the various groups which were discriminated against in the past.

   - Ask students to recall the understanding developed in Topic I: Recognizing The Hate Groups, that the hate movement plays on the legitimate concerns of people. The hate groups exploit the issue of reverse discrimination, claiming that as a result blacks are gaining economically in a time of recession at the expense of whites. Note the assertion in the opening quotation that whites are now "second-class" citizens.

- Let us analyze this claim in greater detail.

4. Distribute to the class Reading 2 for Topic V: The Economic Status of Blacks In The 1980's.

   - Discuss the reading and analyze the graph.
   - Note the progress blacks have made since the 1960's.
   - Note the gaps that still exist between black and white income and achievement. What are the reasons for this?
   - Discuss the fact that in a time of economic downturn it is much simpler to look for a scapegoat that is supposedly causing the economic difficulties, than to face the actual reasons for the distress.

B. The Scapegoating of Jews

1. Read the following quotation to the class:

> "Then along comes the conscious anti-Semite. If he knows his stuff, he will declare the vipers of Judah to be responsible for all the world's troubles -- they control the big banks, the press, the governments, and just about everything else, and they cause wars, depressions, revolutions, and other bad things."

Jim Faris, "At The Book Pyre," White Power, May, 1973, p. 3. White Power is the newspaper of the National Socialist White People's Party (Neo-Nazi).

   - Call the attention of the class to the term "conscious anti-Semite" used in the quotation. Elicit the understanding that "conscious" here is used to mean "intentionally aware."--Anti-Semitism is a major factor in the beliefs of the neo-Nazi who made the statement, as it is in the beliefs of all hate group members.
   - Let us try to gain a better understanding of what anti-Semitism is.

2. Distribute to the class Reading 3 for Topic V: What Is Anti-Semitism?

   - Discuss the reading.

- In the course of the discussion students should define anti-Semitism, develop an understanding of the interacting forces that created anti-Semitism, and realize the self-perpetuating nature of bigoted thinking about Jews.

- Discuss the concept of "transmission belts of prejudice"--the passing on of prejudice from one generation to another.

3. Refer back to the opening quotation. Among the malicious accusations directed against the Jews in the statement is the charge that Jews control the banks and the press. The stereotype of Jewish control of these areas has a long history. Jews have been accused of controlling money matters since the Middle Ages (See Reading 3); of controlling the press since they entered the mainstream of modern life.

   - Let us see how much validity these stereotypes have.

4. Distribute to the class Reading 4 for Topic V: A Case Study of Stereotyping: The Claims Of Jewish Control Of The Banks And The Press.

   - Discuss the reading.

Part A

- Ask students to quote the sentences in the article about Jews in banking that give the lie to the charge of Jewish control of the banking industry.

- Analyze the tables.

- Reach the conclusion that the banking industry, rather than being controlled by Jews, in fact, tends to discriminate against Jews.

Part B

- Ask the students to quote the statements in the article about "Jews and the News Media" which contradict the charge of Jewish control of the press.

- Note the areas where Jews have some prominence.

- Reach the conclusion that the news media, rather than being controlled by Jews, in fact, in some areas, tends to discriminate against Jews.

Part C

- Discuss the fact that in our democratic society people should not be hired as, or conduct their business as, representatives of a racial, religious, or ethnic group. All of us are Americans.

- Review the use by the hate groups of a conspiracy theory as a simple way of explaining complex problems (See Topic I).

- Ask the students to recall the definition of conspiracy: the secret banding together of persons to accomplish evil ends.

5. Distribute to the class Reading 5 for Topic V: When Other Excuses Fail, Blame 'The Jewish Conspiracy.'

   - Discuss the reading.

   - Define the term "Zionist" -- The lover of Zion -- Zion refers to Mt. Zion in Jerusalem, the location of the Holy Temple -- To be a Zionist is to believe in a restored Jewish nation in the land linked historically with the Jewish people. The hate groups frequently use the word "Zionist" as an interchangeable word for "Jew," and "Zionism" as an interchangeable word for "Judaism." In the wake of the murder of Jews by the Nazis, being anti-Jewish is not quite respectable. Being anti-Zionist sounds much more neutral.

   - Note that there are all sorts of conspiracy theories. Ask the students to quote the passages in the reading that describe the minds of those who indulge in conspiracy theories.

   - What are the dangers in viewing the world's problems as being caused by a conspiracy?

6. Read the following quotation to the class:

> "The S.S. guard took pleasure in telling us that we had no chance of coming out alive, a point they emphasized with particular relish by insisting that after the war the rest of the world would not believe what happened; there would be rumors, speculations, but no clear evidence, and people would conclude that evil on such a scale was just not possible."

From Terrence Des Pres,
The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life
In The Death Camps

- Tell the class that the quotation indicates another form of anti-Semitism practiced by the hate groups -- the denial that the Holocaust ever took place.

- Define "Holocaust" -- The destruction of European Jewry by the Nazis in the years 1939-1945.

- Discuss the various ways we can learn about the Holocaust: reports of survivors and G.I. liberators of the concentration camps; German documents and photographs, the writings of historians, films, TV shows, literature, e.g., The Diary of Anne Frank.

- Define "the big lie" -- the propaganda technique whereby an outrageous and monstrous falsehood is constantly repeated until people start believing it must be true.

- Quote Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's propaganda minister:

  "A little lie may not be believed at all, but a big lie, if repeated with sufficient vigor and frequency, will eventually take deep root in the minds of the uninformed masses."

7. Distribute to the class Reading 6 for Topic V: Holocaust "Revisionism."

   - Discuss the reading. Use the following questions as springboards for the discussion:

     - What is the Institute for Historical Review?

     - What is the message of Holocaust revisionists?

     - What role has the media played in this?

     - Why do all hate groups support the movement to declare the Holocaust a myth?

     - Analyze Walter Reich's statement: "If the revisionists are successful in rendering the Holocaust just another matter of debate...then no piece of history is safe... all human experience is conveniently subject to ideological interpretation or wishful negation, and we become nothing more than what we believe."

C. The Scapegoating Of Recent Immigrants

1. Read the following quotation to the class:

> "... aliens will take even more jobs away from Americans and create more welfare for the working American to support! ...and unless our government returns to sane politics...America will soon be overrun with these coloreds from the Caribbean and Mexico."
>
> The Fiery Cross (United Klans of America) Issue 22, 1980.

- Discuss the quotation. The Fiery Cross is expressing the racist views of the hate groups about new immigrants. It is also scapegoating the new immigrants--claiming they are taking jobs away from other Americans.

- Here again, as in the issue of "reverse discrimination," the hate groups have seized upon an issue that troubles many Americans.

- Explain that there is a growing concern in the United States that the nation no longer has the capacity to absorb as many immigrants as have been arriving over the past few years. Distribute Reading 7 for Topic V: Will U.S. Shut The Door On Immigrants?

2. Discuss the reading. Analyze the reasons for the desire for immigrant restriction. Compare with the movement for immigrant restriction that led to the quota laws of the 1920's.

3. Let us see how the hate groups are using the immigration issue.

- Distribute Reading 8 for Topic V: The Hate Groups Scapegoat The New Immigrants, and Reading 9 for Topic V: The Press Comments On The Scapegoating Of New Immigrants.

4. Discuss the readings. The following points should be included in the discussion.

- The very explicit racism present in the hate group statements. The hate groups instigate, elaborate on, and reinforce the racial concerns of Americans with regard to the immigration issue.

- The fear of economic competition. The hate groups do their best to reinforce people's fears.

- The exaggeration. Fears are raised that most of the Mexican population (note the figure 60 million) will attempt to enter the United States.

- The use of a conspiracy theory to explain the entire issue. The complexity of the problem is ignored. Instead, it is all attributed to a Communist conspiracy to destroy the United States. Note the hypothesis that the Haitians are being planted on boats in some underhanded way, as well as the use of a fallacious quotation from the Coast Guard.

- The use of violence against the new immigrants. Rather than permit democratic debate of controversial issues, the hate groups always turn to force.

5. Read aloud the last paragraph in the Wichita Eagle Beacon article (Reading 9-II). Ask how this statement represents the true spirit of America.

Summary-Application

1. Invite local representatives of black organizations (e.g. NAACP, Urban League), Jewish agencies (e.g. Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee), new immigrant groups (check with the Ethnic Studies Departments of colleges in your area for the names of local groups) to address the class on the issues discussed in the lesson.

or

2. Have student representatives visit some of these organizations, interview officials, and report back to the class.

Readings for Topic V - The Scapegoating of Blacks, Jews, and New Immigrants By The Hate Groups

1. The Closed Mind of the Hate Group Member - James Burnham, Suicide of the West (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1964).

2. The Economic Status of Blacks In The 1980's

   A. Excerpted from Reynolds Farley, "The Long Road: Blacks and Whites In America," American Demographics, Feb., 1980.

   B. Adapted from William J. Wilson, "The Black Community in the 1980's: Questions of Race, Class and Public Policy," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Mar., 1981.

   C. Excerpted from George E. Jones, "As Black Leaders Look Ahead to New Worries," U.S. News and World Report, March 1, 1982.

3. What Is Anti-Semitism? - Milton Yinger, Anti-Semitism: A Case Study In Prejudice and Discrimination (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1969).

4. A Case Study of Stereotyping: The Claims of Jewish Control of the Banks and the Press

   A. Jews In Banking - Stephen L. Slavin and Mary A. Pradt, "Banker's Focus: Anti-Semitism In Banking," The Banker's Magazine, July, August, 1979.

   B. Jews And The News Media - Stephen Isaacs, "Jewish Bank, Newspaper Control Myth Continues," The Washington Post, Nov. 21, 1974.

   C. The Irrelevance of Statistics - Frances M. Sonnenschein, Outline of Jewish History (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith).

5. When Other Excuses Fail, Blame 'The Jewish Conspiracy'
Henry Fairlie, The Virginian-Pilot, Jan. 7, 1982.

6. Holocaust "Revisionism"

   A. Holocaust "Revisionism": A Denial of History - Adapted from Facts, The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, June 1980, Vol. 26, No. 2.

   B. Charles Krauthammer, "Washington Diarist", The New Republic, May 23, 1981.

7. Will U.S. Shut The Door On Immigrants? - William L. Chaze, U.S. News and World Report, April 12, 1982.

8. The Hate Groups Scapegoat The New Immigrants

   A. The Klansman, Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Issue 62, Feb. 1981.

   B. The Crusader, The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Issue 27.

   C. From an unpublished Anti-Defamation League Report on the Ku Klux Klan.

9. The Press Comments On The Scapegoating of New Immigrants
"Klan's Cowardice on Display," an editorial from the Wichita Eagle Beacon, March 20, 1981.

Reading 1 for Topic V

The Closed Mind of the Hate Group Member

James Burnham, Suicide of the
West (New Rochelle, N.Y., Arlington
House 1964) pp. 100-101.

I mention after hearing him assert the innate inferiority of the Negro race, the fact that in baseball, boxing, track and field sports, Negroes are the champions. These purely physical achievements, he explains, are proof of how close Negroes remain to animals in the evolutionary scale. I add the names of Negro musicians, singers, actors and writers of the first rank. Naturally, he comments, they carry over a sense of rhythm from the tribal dance and tom-tom ceremonies. I ask how many law graduates of his state university could stand up against Judge Thurgood Marshall; how many sociologists against Professor C. Eric Lincoln; how many psychologists against Professor Kenneth Clark? Doubtless all such have plenty of white blood, he answers, but in any case they are only exceptions to prove the general rule of inferiority; that is confirmed by the low intellectual attainments of the average Negro. I observe that the average Negro has been educated in worse schools, and for fewer years, than the average white. Of course, he agrees: No use wasting good education on low-grade material.

An ideologue--one who thinks ideologically--can't lose. He can't lose because his answer, his interpretation and his attitudes have been determined in advance of the particular experience or observation. They are derived from the ideology and are not subject to the facts. There is no possible argument, observation or experiment that could disprove a firm ideological belief for the very simple reason that an ideologue will not accept any argument, observation, or experiment as constituting disproof.

Reading 2 for Topic V

The Economic Status of Blacks In The 1980's

A.

Excerpted from Reynolds Farley, "The Long Road: Blacks and Whites In America," American Demographics, Feb., 1980.

The most widely used statistics showing the economic status of blacks are those on family income. Shortly after World War II the average income of white families was double that of blacks. Throughout the 1950s the incomes of both black and white families rose at about the same rate, so the racial gap in purchasing power persisted.

The 1960s were a very different decade, for as the economy expanded and unemployemnt declined the incomes of black families rose more rapidly than those of white families. During this decade the purchasing power of the typical black family went up about 5 percent annually, while that of white families rose about 3 percent each year. This is the one period since the end of World War II when black families clearly began to catch up with white families in income.

The 1970s are again different. There has been a small decline in the average income of black families and a rise in the income of white families. As a result, the racial difference in purchasing power, which was about $6,500 (in constant 1978 dollars) at the start of this decade, rose to about $7,500 in 1978. Today, the typical black family has an income 59 percent that of the average white family -- a purchasing power equivalent to that of whites at the time of the Korean War, or a lag of about one full generation.

If we look at the earnings of employed individuals, we find that during the 1970s, as during the 1960s, blacks who held jobs tended to catch up with whites. In 1959, black men had earnings only 58 percent as great as those of white workers, whereas in 1977 they earned 73 percent as much. The improvement was even greater for black women, from 64 percent to 95 percent. These gains occur because of the improved educational attainment of blacks, their entry into higher paying jobs and because racial discrimination in pay rates has declined.

There appears to be a puzzle. The earnings of black workers in the 1970s rose more rapidly than those of whites, but black families did not improve their status relative to white families. Indeed, the racial difference in the purchasing power of families grew larger during this decade. The principal reason for this shift is the changing living arrangements of families. Among both races families with the highest incomes are those which include a husband-wife couple, while families headed by a woman tend to have low incomes.

Since the 1950s there has been a pronounced shift away from husband-wife families and a corresponding rise in the proportion of families headed by women who did not live with a husband. This shift has been much more substantial among blacks than whites. For instance, the proportion of all black families headed by women rose from 22 percent in 1960 to 39 percent in 1977. Among whites the change was from 8 to 12 percent. This means that an increasing fraction of all families, especially blacks, are low-income families headed by a woman. One trend which should improve the economic welfare of black families, gains in the earnings of workers, has been largely offset by another trend, the changes in family living....

Racial differences in the proportion of men at work have increased throughout this period and are now large. By 1979, about 75 percent of adult white men were working, compared to about 65 percent of black men. Limited employment opportunities for black men help to account for the low income levels of black families and help to explain why in 1977 the Census Bureau found 31 percent of blacks to be below the poverty line compared to only 9 percent of whites.

The fraction of black women at work changed very little in the last three decades--just over 40 percent. But the proportion of white women employed has risen about half a percent each year since the 1950s. Traditionally, a higher proportion of black than white women worked, but this difference has disappeared and during the last few years the proportion employed has become higher for white women than for black.

Employment opportunities hold little evidence of racial progress. Particularly among men the unemployment rate of blacks remains twice that of whites, and the racial difference in the proportion holding jobs has widened. Today, as in 1950, blacks have a much more difficult time finding jobs and avoiding layoffs than do whites.

It is difficult to explain these findings in the face of substantial improvements in occupations of those blacks who are employed....

One might...speculate that the requirements for employment have risen and that workers with few skills now find it extremely difficult to secure entry level jobs. Educational trends imply an increase in the attainment of blacks, however, and racial differences in schooling are now smaller than they once were. The continued concentration of blacks within central cities and an expansion of employment opportunities in the suburbs may help to account for the growing racial difference in employment, or the explanation may lie in social attitudes of employers who accept blacks at higher levels of employment but not at lower levels....

In the 1960s President Johnson said, "It is not enough to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates."

The progress made by blacks since World War II has been significant, but new laws, civil rights and changing attitudes have not eliminated racial differences in income, earnings, education, occupation and employment. Blacks are still far behind whites, and by some measures farther behind than before.

B.

Adapted from: William J. Wilson,
"The Black Community in the 1980's:
Questions of Race, Class and Public
Policy," Annals of the American
Academy of Political and Social
Science, Mar., 1981.

In recent years, there has been a sharp rise in black unemployment. This has occurred despite the passage of laws which have prohibited discrimination in employment. Programs of affirmative action have had seemingly little impact on over-all unemployment rates among blacks.

The group that profited the most from civil rights legislation up to 1965 were middle class blacks -- blacks who were able to compete because of their education and special talents. Other blacks did not benefit for these reasons:

- in the modern industrial world, education and training have become essential for better paying jobs.
- labor saving devices have lessened the need for untrained black workers.
- blacks living in ghettos have been penalized by lower aspirations, poor education, crime, family instability, etc.

In short, black workers have not been prepared for the job market they face. In addition, they have been trapped in depressed urban areas where opportunities for unskilled workers are decreasing.

The proportion of employed black workers increased by roughly 10% in professional, technical and clerical jobs since 1960. However, during this same period there has been a decrease of 13% in black service workers and laborers and 5% in farm worker jobs for blacks.

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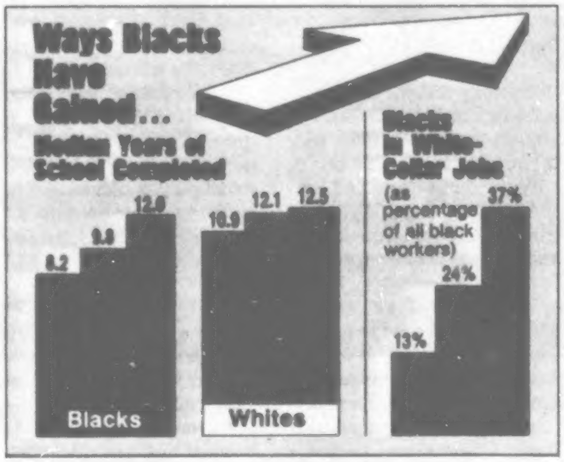
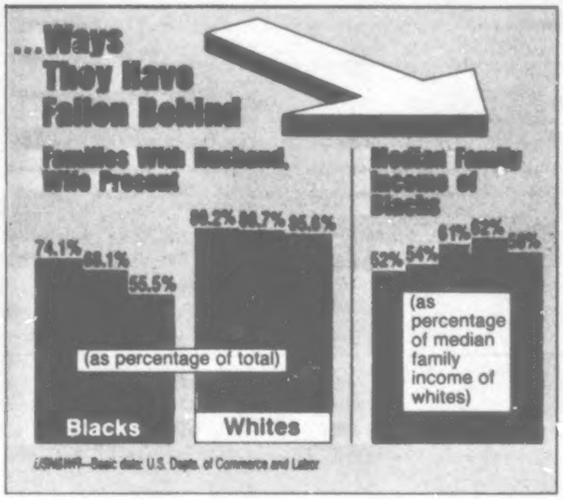
C.

Excerpted from George E. Jones, "As Black Leaders Look Ahead to New Worries." U.S. News and World Report, March 1, 1982, pp.63,64.





USN&WR—Basic data: U.S. Depts. of Commerce and Labor

- Since 1970, teenage unemployment has risen from 29.1 percent of black youth to 41.2 percent.

- Births out of wedlock have been going up almost steadily--from about one quarter of all live births to black mothers in 1960 to 54.6 percent in 1979.

- Since 1959, the huge lag in the number of blacks in the median-family-income range has closed sharply, remained steady, then widened again.

In short, while many educated blacks have been profiting in status and income, the impoverished underclass has been growing rapidly, too. A 1980 Census Bureau survey found 32.5 percent of all blacks living below the poverty level.

Reading 3 for Topic V

What Is Anti-Semitism?

Milton Yinger, Anti-Semitism: A Case
Study In Prejudice and Discrimination
(New York: Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith, 1969) pp. 5-6, 72-74.

Anti-Semitism is in many ways the "classic" prejudice. Through the course of centuries in has illustrated all of the intricately related forces at work. It has ranged all the way from "polite" social exclusion to vicious pogroms. Insecure persons have found the Jews a convenient scapegoat -- available in almost every land, relatively powerless, distinguishable by religion and in some instances by culture, and approved by tradition as a target for hostility. In almost every major economic or political conflict in the last several centuries one of the opposing forces, or both, has employed anti-Semitism as a weapon. Millions of people who have never known a Jew are equipped with a ready-made picture of his supposed physical appearance and personal characteristics.

Hasty observers -- including many Americans -- are likely to say "there must be something to it" if a prejudice has existed so long and expressed itself in so many different settings. They completely misunderstand the self-perpetuating nature of a deep-seated prejudice, once it has become thoroughly established. Nowhere is the cumulative force of several factors more clearly shown than in the discriminations directed against Jews. A careful study of anti-Semitism is a magnifying glass of great value in the examination of prejudice. There are unique elements, of course, for no two cases of prejudice are exactly alike. But the uniqueness consists largely in the particular combination of forces in the history of anti-Semitism. Most of the forces involved are also found in other cases of prejudice, which will, therefore, be better understood by the analysis of anti-Semitism.

The term "anti-Semitism" was first used by a German journalist, Wilhelm Marr, in 1873, to express and to encourage opposition to Jews. Anti-Semitism may be defined as any activity that tends to force into or to hold Jews in an inferior position and to limit their economic, political, and social rights. It is not simply opposition to Jews because they are different, although that has sometimes been the explanation. It is more often, at least in the modern world, opposition to Jews because they are not different, i.e., because they have become effective competitors for the values being pursued by the prejudiced person.

The term "anti-Semitism" called attention to the Semitic origin of (many) Jews in order to identify them as a "race," and thus make use of feelings of race prejudice against them. We cannot discuss here the errors involved in designating the Jews as a race; we need only note that they are a very mixed group, by no means purely Semitic, that there are many Semites who are not Jews and many Jews who are not Semites, that Semites are simply a branch of the Caucasian race, and that even were the Jews a distinct race the fact would create no consequences of importance for human behavior....

To get a more unified picture of the complicated spiral of forces that have created and support anti-Semitism, it might be well to draw together, in summary, the many factors [involved]. It is especially important to keep in mind that these forces are interactive, mutually reinforcing, and to an important degree self-perpetuating. Once a group has been set apart as a target for hostility, it is chosen more readily for that role the next time...

These are among the interactive forces:

1. In the pre-Christian era, the Jewish people, living astride important trade routes and in a strategically vital area of the ancient world, were caught up in conflict with many nations....

2. With the domination of Europe by the Christian Church, Jews stood out as the only large minority religious group at a time when religious symbols were of enormous importance. The conflict between Christianity and Judaism was more than usually sharp because of the ambivalent relationship between the two -- the Jews denied Christ, yet he was a Jew.

3. By the fifth century, Jews had been deprived of their citizenship. This action may have begun as religious intolerance, but it led to many social and economic consequences. Jews had no role in the gradual development of the nation-state system that was to predominate in Europe; they had no legal rights or powers until the end of the eighteenth century. Thus their differentiation from the rest of the "body politic" was increased.

4. Having no legal rights in the medieval world, Jews were permitted to reside in the cities only at the pleasure of the princes. The princes used them as revenue officers and "royal usurers." The royal treasuries seemed always to be empty, so Jews were continually forced to demand payment from the unwilling citizenry. While being drawn into these "banking" activities, Jews were, oppositely, driven from many other occupations, forbidden to own land, and excluded from the artisan guilds. Thus their economic differentiation increased.

5. The rapid growth of cities and the development of commerce from the tenth century on encouraged more and more Christians to come into the formerly marginal occupations associated with trade. They used their advantages as citizens and members of the dominant religion to fight their Jewish competitors, even succeeding in driving them out of most of the nations and cities of western Europe.

6. In eastern Europe, to which most of the Jews fled, they were still barred from citizenship, and the violent attacks which they had experienced at least since the days of the Crusades were repeated. This treatment kept in motion the forces of anti-Semitism.

7. Inevitably the lack of citizenship, economic discrimination, and personal violence to which the Jews were subjected intensified their cohesiveness as a cultural-religious group....The Jewish community seemed to be their only protection against the hostilities they continuously experienced....They were blocked from the full participation which would have led in time to assimilation in the societies where they lived, and then were accused of being different....Being different, Jews were more easily selected for hostile treatment; they were forced back upon their own group and its traditions, thus maintaining its differences. In earlier days, this vicious circle revolved mainly around religious symbols. Only with the decline of feudalism and the rise of nations, often with relatively distinct cultures, did the position of Jews as "foreigners" become vital. Having evolved painfully into unified nations, the European countries found the Jewish aliens (whom they themselves had kept alien and had prevented from participating in their evolution into statehood) in their midst. It is doubtless significant that there is a high (but not perfect) correlation between the areas where independent statehood was achieved with great difficulty and the areas where anti-Semitism has been most prevalent. Compare England and France with Germany and Poland....

8. With anti-Semitism established by the factors listed above, it became fixed in tradition and passed on to each new generation in the socialization process. Once used, a pattern of prejudice is more likely to be used again than is a new pattern, for the old has acquired reinforcements. It has the sanction of tradition; it has helped to create some of the very differences by which it was at first justified....

Reading 4 for Topic V

A Case Study of Stereotyping: The Claims of Jewish Control of the Banks and the Press

A.

Jews In Banking

Stephen L. Slavin and Mary A. Pradt,
"Banker's Focus: Anti-Semitism In
Banking," The Banker's Magazine,
July, August, 1979.

DO THE JEWS OWN the banks? What *is* the position of Jews in the major banks in New York, the financial center of the country?

According to our research data, the Jews don't even *work* there, at least at the senior management level. The figures we have compiled (Table I) show that there are only a handful of high-ranking Jewish officers in seven leading New York banks...

There is not one Jew among the twenty-two officers who are also directors in New York's major banks. Only three of the top eighty-six officers (executive vice-president and up) are Jewish; that's 3.5 percent. When we consider 345 senior officers (including senior vice-presidents), there is a grand total of sixteen Jews, or 4.6 percent....

TABLE I

	Top Executive Officers*		Sr. Management**		Senior Officers***	
Bank	Jews	Total	Jews	Total	Jews	Total
A	0	2	2	14	4	44
B	0	3	1	18	1	74
C	0	3	0	10	6	51
D	0	4	0	14	2	64
E	0	2	0	9	1	27
F	0	3	0	8	1	44
G	0	5	0	13	1	41
Total	0	22	3	86	16	345

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* Also on board of directors.

** Includes president, board chairman, vice chairman, and executive vice president.

*** All officers from chairman to senior vice president.

BUT WHY?

Three main explanations are advanced about why Jews are so underrepresented in the upper echelons of bank management. A first rationale is that today's managers, who began their careers twenty or thirty years ago, reflect the hiring patterns of the '40s and '50s.

Many would concede anti-Semitism in banking that long ago. The ready explanation was that Jews were just too ambitious to work for the low starting salaries the banks were then paying. In addition, Jews tend to get the very technical and specialized staff positions in banks - computer programming, law, or public relations - and these don't afford upward mobility in bank management.

A third explanation was expressed by a high-ranking Jewish officer: "None of us could ever get to be President or Chairman because we can't get experience with the large customers." Several others echoed the sentiment that national and international lending experience are requisite credentials for top bank officers, yet Jews are often steered away from these areas. A young officer at one bank told us that "Those [Jews] who do get into national lending are usually discouraged by their superiors' not promoting them...."

MANAGEMENT TRAINEES

Are the New York banks, in recruiting tomorrow's top manager's, now compensating for the long-standing absence of Jews? Over the past decade, several of the banks have taken on an increasing number of Jewish officer-trainees. Most of them have been drawn from the ranks of M.B.A.s graduating from various schools around the country. To appraise the current trend toward hiring Jewish officers, we took a close look at the job offers made to the graduates of Columbia and New York University business schools, each of which is about one-third Jewish.

In a survey of 1,000 June 1977 graduates of Columbia and N.Y.U., the Civil Rights Division of the New York State Attorney General's office sent each a questionnaire listing the major New York banks and asking them to note which, if any, had made job offers. About 25 percent of the graduates responded. The results were tabulated to determine if there were any discriminatory hiring patterns with respect to religion. These results are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2

Bank	Catholics Applications	Catholics Job Offers	Jews Applications	Jews Job Offers	Protestants Applications	Protestants Offers
A	29	4	25	5	24	3
B	28	7	26	5	24	4
C	27	3	25	5	22	4
D	40	9	28	8	38	10
E	22	4	24	0	23	4
F	18	1	17	2	13	3
G	25	2	18	0	23	3
Total	189	30	163	25	167	31

What is most striking here is that two banks did not find even one qualified Jewish applicant. Yet between them they found thirteen Catholics and Protestants who met their standards. Each of the other five large New York banks made job offers to at least two Jews....

The vice-president in charge of personnel at Bank A reported to us that 173 of 1,800 officers were Jewish (9.3 percent). At Bank B, according to one internal source, about 150 officers (or about 10 percent) are Jewish. At Bank G, some 126 of 2,445 officers (5.2 percent) were Jewish at the time of the Attorney General's previous survey (1968). Both Jewish and gentile officers told us that now about 10 percent of the bank's officers are Jewish.

These are the banks that are "good for the Jews," and they have, at best, 10 percent management-level Jews. This in a city where half the college graduates are Jewish. Many thousands of Jews who majored in business, accounting, and economics have been graduated from the City University in each of the last four decades. Yet only a handful to date have become officers in the city's seven biggest banks.

At the other end, there are banks that have a reputation for anti-Semitism. At Bank F, an officer was quoted as saying, "I believe we do have a few Jewish officers, five or six officers are unhesitatingly Jewish." Whatever that means.

At the time of an earlier 1969 report by New York State, Bank F had 792 officers, about ten of whom were thought to be Jewish. At the present time, the bank has over 900 officers based in New York, and estimates of the number of Jewish officers now vary from under twenty to "well over thirty." Ten years ago, the Attorney General's office had this to say about Bank F: "One can only conclude that [the bank] has not, in the past, made a good faith effort to provide executive opportunities to all qualified applicants regardless of race,creed, or color." Nothing has changed; instead, there's still evidence that Jews are not welcome at that bank.

The few Jewish officers who do work at Bank F are concentrated in (non-banking) staff or operations jobs. We located two in the legal department, two in economic and corporate research, five or six in methods and systems, and one or two in manpower development. The rest are evidently "hidden" elsewhere within the bank. But no one has identified for us any national or international lending officer who is "unhesitatingly" Jewish.

Why so few Jewish officers in the lending area? The frequent explanation is that the bank does very little business with Jews. A highly placed officer at the bank explained that many of the officers at his bank have traditionally been socialites. These people move only in very restricted social circles. There is a very clear preference for the "WASP type." And another officer speculated that those responsible for hiring "tended to be most receptive toward people who were most like themselves - conservative, WASP, graduates of prestigious private colleges, and from relatively affluent backgrounds...."

Rather than being the decision-makers or money lenders in banks, Jews generally perform peripheral functions. All but three of the Jewish officers we interviewed were either in computer programming, accounting, public relations, legal work, economic analysis, personnel work, real estate operations, or factoring....

Not everything is good for the Jews, today, in the New York banking community. In fairness, we must note that the situation was worse ten or fifteen years ago. Many bankers, Jewish and gentile, have perceived a marked decline in anti-Semitism over the last decade. Not too long ago it would have been difficult to imagine that Chase would have a kosher cafeteria or that Bankers Trust would print a Jewish calendar.

But when will there be a Jewish president of a major New York bank?

B.

Jews And The News Media

Stephen Isaacs, Jewish Bank, Newspaper Control Myth Continues, The Washington Post, Nov. 21, 1974.

As for Jewish ownership of newspapers, a survey conducted by this reporter for a recent book showed that, of the 1,748 daily newspapers in the United States in 1972, 3.1 percent were owned by Jews (who make up about 3 percent of the American population). Those newspapers published 8 percent of all the newspapers printed each day in the country.

The survey found that most of the newspaper owners who were Jewish generally leaned over backward to be "non-Jewish" and most made sure that Jews were not hired as chief editors....

On the other hand, all three of the national commercial television networks were created principally by Jews - NBC by David Sarnoff, CBS by William Paley, ABC by Leonard Goldenson.

And there is a considerable presence of Jews in the reporting trade; Jews are disproportionately involved in the media as middle level editors and reporters.

But none of the networks has ever put forward a "Jewish" face in their key, evening news anchor positions and few of the nation's top newspaper editors are Jews. Of the more than 800 members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, which limits membership to directing editors of newspapers, fewer than 20 are Jewish.

C.

The Irrelevance of Statistics

Frances M. Sonnenschein, Outline of Jewish History (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith) p. 162.

...The fact remains that the number of Jews in a particular activity, field, or endeavor is entirely irrelevant in a democratic society and bears no relationship to what anti-Semites term "Jewish power or control." Jews in America and elsewhere involve themselves in non-religious professions or non-political activities not as Jews but as individuals. Nor do Jews in any field act in concert with others similarly situated simply because they happen also to be Jews. To believe otherwise is to embrace the false argument of anti-Semites that Jews act conspiratorially and that the more Jews found in a profession or activity the greater the conspiracy.

Reading 5 for Topic V

When Other Excuses Fail, Blame 'The Jewish Conspiracy'

Henry Fairlie, The Virginian-Pilot, Jan. 7, 1982. Mr. Fairlie is a British correspondent based in the United States.

Few things are more depressing now than the evidence, reported in newspapers from week to week, that anti-Jewish feeling persists across the world. Not only persists, indeed, but seems to be increasing. Century after century, the virulence went on even as we sang carols to a Jewish baby....

Wherever there are difficulties, take comfort and blame - why, of course - the Jews. Age after age, we've done it. In the ancient world, vilify the Jews; in the medieval world, vilify the Jews; in the modern world, vilify the Jews. Why expect it, in the future world, to be different?

Just vilify them, mind you, not crucify them. We have grown namby-pamby since the Holocaust. The most depressing things in today's stories is the constant refrain: "Of course, the anti-Semitism today is not militant." That somehow seems to make it all right. We don't actually make lampshades out of Jews' skin now - we are more civilized than that - so we have our sport with them with a free conscience.

The facts and figures can read so smoothly. After the bombing of a Paris synagogue last October, Louis Harris conducted a poll throughout France. One Frenchman in eight thought that there were too many Jews in France; one in 10 felt that Jews were not "as French" as other citizens. It is easy to be numb to to such figures - what meaning is there to them? - until we recall the years of Vichy.

But if we feel bland about the Frenchmen in the poll, we have only to remember that, in the days before that one publicized bombing, two other synagogues, a Jewish school, a Jewish day-care center and a Jewish monument, all in Paris, were all raked by machine gun fire. The violence is the work of terrorists and neo-Nazis - yes - but what is the soil in which they breed?

Or take the playing down of the Nazi treatment of the Jews; the revival of neo-Nazism on the right; the emergence of an anti-Zionist/anti-Israel feeling on the left, which all too easily finds an anti-Semitic accent. The ingredients, old and new, make a powerful and virulent mixture.

Whether it is a response to the need for Arab oil or to the wish for a settlement in the Middle East, pro-Arab sympathy is now more widespread than before. No honest person will deny that, at the back of all our consciousnesses, lies one simple and obvious, if unspoken, solution to our problems in the Middle East. Dump Israel. For the sake of oil and peace, abandon this one Jewish state.

There is much to be said for understanding the position of the Arabs. But the distressing fact is that an impatience with Israel, even when it is justifiable, is all too easily translated into anti-Jewishness. The most reasonable criticism of Israel brings in its strain all the code words by which it is transmuted into anti-Zionism and then into anti-Semitism - with each step barely recognized....

Just as Austria, even with its Jewish communities shrunk to a few thousand, is still anti-Semitic, so is anti-Semitism also strong in Poland, with its Jewish population also shrunk. When such hostility to a race of people persists, even in countries where there is not now even a population to provoke it, one is talking of a terrible evil, against which we dare not let down our guard.

Outbursts of anti-Semitism have consistently heralded either totalitarianism or simply the collapse of a political and even a moral order. Once the Jews get it in the neck, as history amply shows us, our turn is not far behind.

Anti-Semitism both feeds on and then engenders notions of conspiracy. If we tolerate ideas of Jewish or Zionist conspiracy, ideas of other conspiracies grow in the soil. If the Jews are conspiring, who may not be conspiring? Once release the idea that some difficulty that besets us is the result of a plot, and we quickly find that the existence of a plot can explain all our difficulties....

The whole of Central America and the Caribbean is one gigantic conspiracy, not just a cluster of small nations and islands, each with its particular as well as general problems. If things do not go America's way anywhere in the world, then we are told that there is a conspiracy. There are conspiracies, also, here at home. If Reagan's economic policies fail, the Wall Street conspiracy is blamed....

In at least one of its aspects, anti-Semitism is an escape from complexity. All conspiracy theories are efforts to find tidy explanations of the untidy world. If something goes awry somewhere in the world, someone must somewhere be issuing secret protocols. Our politics are, day by day, being reduced to simple responses to situations that are simply described.

Anti-Semitism is a simple explanation of anything that we find too complicated. But this is true of all ideas of conspiracy. And those who imagine conspiracies must themselves become conspirators. Their theories can be sustained only by unrelenting, far-into-the-night dredging over of old facts to find new meanings in them. If the conspirator is clandestine, so is the theorist of conspiracy.

Anti-Semitism is for the simple-minded a final solution of any and every difficulty. If only it were only that. The bother is that it never stops there. It leads where it points and always in one direction. Not many steps beyond the mild anti-Semitic remark, there is always torture and mutilation and death. Not only for the Jew.

Reading 6 for Topic V

Holocaust "Revisionism"

A.

Holocaust "Revisionism": A Denial of History

Adapted from Facts, The Anti-
Defamation League of B'nai B'rith,
June 1980, Vol. 26, No. 2.

The newest "line" of the hate groups is that the Holocaust never took place -- that Hitler never murdered 6,000,000 - that the idea of a Holocaust is a big propaganda fraud.

This strategy has three main goals:

1. To undermine the rights of the Jewish people to set up their own state in Israel.
2. To rehabilitate Hitler and the Nazis, so that it would seem we fought the wrong enemy in World War II.
3. To promote a new kind of anti-Semitic expression.

The people who are trying to rewrite history claim that the Jews are conspiring to manipulate the sympathies of the Christian world for their purposes.

The Institute for Historical Review is the organization set up by long-time hate mongers...the Liberty Lobby. Its aim is to prove that the Holocaust never was. This group masquerades as an organization of historians. It puts out the Journal of Historical Review which, on the surface, looks like a professional publication. It has offered a "reward" of $50,000 for proof that the Nazis operated gas chambers to exterminate Jews. Claimants would have to prove they had personally witnessed gassing and would be asked to show pictures as proof.

Some of the arguments used by the so-called "scholars" have been:

- The U.S. (not Germany) started World War II.
- The U.S. fought the wrong enemy.
- Jews who were in the concentration camps died from diseases like typhus. Their bodies were then burned.

- All the pictures of piles of corpses and camp inmates are forged. The corpses are of Germans.

- Anne Frank never wrote her diary.

Denying the Holocaust has become a commonplace item in the anti-Semitic and hate press. All the extremist groups feature articles on the subject in their newspapers and magazines. In addition they sponsor many books and "learned" articles on this subject.

The story of the Holocaust has been widely publicized on TV, through the trials of Nazi war criminals and through the writings of scholars. However, many people are not aware of the facts of the Nazi period. Many history textbooks ignore the Holocaust. Those who peddle the story of the Holocaust as a myth are counting on ignorance and apathy. It is important therefore that educational efforts are made to fight this poison, lest it be accepted as truth.

B.

Charles Krauthammer, "Washington Diarist", The New Republic, May 23, 1981.

Fiction is also the business of the Institute for Historical Review in Los Angeles, a front established by William McCalden, a British neo-Nazi, to "prove" that the murder of six million Jews by Nazi Germany in World War II did not occur. It has enjoyed quite a bit of media play. To hype its cause it offered a $50,000 prize to anyone who could prove that Jews in fact had been gassed in Auschwitz. A survivor of Auschwitz whose family had perished there provided the evidence. When denied the prize, he sued. McCalden never showed up in court to contest the case. All in all, a sordid episode engineered and played up by a malicious racist. What is disturbing is not that such people exist, but that they can achieve so much publicity for themselves and circulation, even respectability, for their views. A recent Washington Post report of McCalden's disappearance ends matter-of-factly: "The institute argues that perhaps 350,000 Jews died of disease and war injuries during WW II but not from any intentional extermination campaign." Another newspaper report dignified this nonsense by granting it the coveted epithet "controversial." Why the generous dispensation of legitimacy to such obvious cranks? "If the revisionists are successful in rendering the Holocaust just another matter of debate," wrote Yale psychiatrist Walter Reich recently, "then no piece of history is safe...all human experience is conveniently subject to ideological interpretation or wishful negation, and we become nothing more than what we believe." Reich ascribes our willingness to pay any attention at all to these cranks to the "peculiarly contemporary [notion] that everything is debatable and that nothing should be accepted as true that was not personally seen and experienced." Every generation likes to believe that the world started with it. This generation, raised on "Eyewitness News," conditioned by the instant replay, and spared the illumination that comes from tedious historical study, tends to be even more ahistorical than most. All the more reason to build memorials that are not afraid to speak unambiguously from one generation to the next.

Reading 7 for Topic V

Will U.S. Shut The Door On Immigrants?

William L. Chaze, U.S. News
and World Report, April 12, 1982.

An America built on the sweat of those from other lands is being tempted today to yank up a welcome mat that for two centuries has beckoned the dispossessed to its shores.

A flood of immigrants, only half of them legal, is bringing well over 1 million newcomers a year into the U.S.--the highest level since the mass migration of Europeans at the turn of the century. America today is accepting twice as many foreigners as all other nations combined.

With strife and economic hard times increasing around the globe, the horde of fresh arrivals threatens to grow still greater as more and more refugees seek a better life.

While stories of individual refugees can be heartbreaking, Americans are increasingly reluctant to welcome newcomers, no matter where they come from -- or why. Explains Leon Bouvier of the Washington-based Population Reference Bureau: "Your heart goes out to refugees and other immigrants. But there is a feeling across the land that enough is enough, and that we cannot continue absorbing the numbers that have been coming. America is no longer a nation of empty frontiers in need of settling...."

Some pressure always has existed for tough immigration laws, but until recently it came mostly from a few conservative groups. Now protests are rising from a broad spectrum of labor, business executives, environmentalists and even liberal politicians who once fought curbs....

The nation's sagging economy has caused still more hard feelings toward immigrants, both legal and otherwise. With jobs now at a premium, many Americans resent being forced to compete for work with noncitizens....

"People are mad as hell about the job situation," comments a Democratic lawmaker from Southern California. "They want us to build a wall around the U.S., pull up the gangplank and say 'no more immigrants.' It is almost as though the clock has been turned back to the 19th century, when signs appeared saying, 'No Irish or Poles need apply.'"

Much of the animosity arising from the job situation is directed at two groups — Indo-Chinese and illegal aliens from Latin America. But native-born Americans are also complaining that Eastern Europeans and other immigrants are undercutting wages and gaining a near monopoly over unskilled jobs that few Americans wanted in better times....

Immigrants are also achieving dominance in certain small businesses across America. "They're willing to work all hours to control costs, and that makes them pretty tough competitors," comments Gerald Peck, president of the National American Wholesale Grocers in New York....

The changing ethnic character of America is one more cause for worry -- an especially troubling one given the issue's obvious racial overtones. Where most foreigners until 20 years ago were easily assimilated Europeans, 81 percent today are readily identifiable Latins or Asians....

Some of the concerns being heard today are not much different from those that greeted earlier waves of immigrants -- and that produced many restrictive and racist laws. A severe depression in the 1870s, for example, led to charges that Chinese immigrants brought to America to build railroads were undercutting wages. The result: A federal ban on admission of any more Chinese workers.

As large numbers of Irish and Poles arrived in the last decades of the 19th century, more such restrictive laws followed. But it was not until 1921 that the U.S. adopted its first numerical limit, holding immigration to 350,000 per year and setting country quotas. Those limits were rigidly observed, even to the extent of Congress refusing to admit as special cases 20,000 Jewish children from Nazi Germany in 1939. Most of them later died in Hitler's concentration camps. During the years that followed the quotas were gradually raised and special categories created to cover the admission of political refugees on an emergency basis....

The test for the nation's lawmakers: Balance America's traditional humanitarian interests against the realities confronted by Colorado Governor Richard Lamm and other officials struggling to cope with the wave of new arrivals.

"Immigration," says Lamm, a grandson of immigrants, "is another of the ideas which served us well in times past, but which hurt us in the decade of the 1980s. It is out of control, and the effects penetrate every layer of society."

Reading 8 for Topic V

The Hate Groups Scapegoat The New Immigrants

A.

The Klansman, Invisible Empire,
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan,
Issue 62, Feb. 1981.

--What is not being pointed out is that there is a broad conspiracy to flood the U.S. with colored immigrants from all countries. The Communists know that packing the U.S. with colored immigrants is like putting a ticking time bomb in every city with an erratic clock. Eventually they will cause such a financial burden on the U.S. that we will face economic collapse and then at the same time the easily manipulated colored masses can be led into rebellion in the guise of "Civil Rights" and the resulting chaos will make it easy for a Communist overthrow of the U.S.

Of course, this plan will take many years, maybe even a couple of decades but it is the only way to overthrow a strong, proud Christian nation.

The recent influx of Cubans was part of that conspiracy. While some of the Cubans who entered the country in the "Freedom Flotilla" were honest hard working citizens, most of them were convicts, dope pushers, homosexuals and outright Communist spies.

The Haitians who are entering the U.S. now in ridiculously overloaded boats that according to the Coast Guard could not possibly have sailed from Haiti. They are obviously being towed a short distance from the Florida coast and then loaded with Haitians and set adrift to land here.

B.

The Crusader, The Knights of the
Ku Klux Klan, Issue 27.

Mexico has the highest birth rate of any nation on earth. It is expected to double its present population of 65 million by the turn of the century. With Mexico unable to feed itself with its present population, it is not hard to imagine the ultimate destination of the future Mexicans. Sixty million more Mexicans plus the twenty million in America now, coupled with their drastic birthrate in this country ultimately will mean the grim reality of over one hundred million Mexicans in America by the turn of the century. No one can debate the tremendous impact on our economic structure, job market, welfare system, crime problem, and on the very basis of our culture. Politically the impact would be devastating, for non-Whites would hold a trump card against the White people of America.

C.

From an unpublished Anti-Defamation League Report on the Ku Klux Klan.

-- A Ku Klux Klan den commander, and an associate of the Klan, were found guilty of charges arising from shootings into the homes of several Mexican-Americans in the San Diego, California, area in April, 1977.

-- A Klansman was sentenced to one year in federal prison for violating the rights of an alien after he and a fellow California Klansman had picked up a hitch-hiker in April of 1978. Although the hitch-hiker was a legal Mexican resident, the two threw away his passport and then took him to the Border Patrol, reporting him as an illegal alien.

-- California Klan leader Tom Metzger organized a "border patrol" in June, 1979, to watch for and capture illegal Mexican immigrants. As a result of this Klan activity in Southern California, Commissioner Leonel J. Castillo instructed field offices of the Naturalization Service to report to the U.S. Attorney's office all "citizen arrests" against undocumented aliens. "We do not condone and will not allow the KKK to make..." such arrests, said Castillo, adding that, where appropriate, charges would be filed.

-- An officer of the Cullman County, Alabama, chapter of the Invisible Empire of the KKK was convicted in January, 1980, of violating the civil rights of two Vietnamese refugees. He had held a knife to the refugees, warned them to quit their jobs, and threatened to kill them if they told anyone of his actions.

-- In February, 1981 the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan sponsored a rally on a tract of land near Santa Fe, Texas, in support of Galveston Bay shrimp fishermen involved in quarrels with Vietnamese refugees shrimpers. Several hundred persons attended and watched as two dozen Klansmen armed with rifles and shotguns set fire to a 30-foot cross. Texas Grand Dragon Louis Beam, who described the cross-burning as a holy Christian ceremony, climaxed his speech by raising his hand in a Nazi salute and shouting, "White Power!" In an obvious gesture of intimidation, the Klansmen also burned a mock Vietnamese fishing boat. Three weeks later, it was reported by Houston Radio Station KTRH that some 50 Texas fishermen were planning a four-day military training exercise with Klansmen at the invitation of the Grand Dragon.

-- On April 15, 1981 two Klansmen were arrested in Miami, Florida's Little Havana area with a bomb and machine gun in their car. Local police believe they planned to detonate the explosive device near the heavily populated Cuban area.

Reading 9 for Topic V

The Press Comments On The Scapegoating of New Immigrants

Klan's Cowardice on Display

An editorial from the Wichita
Eagle Beacon, March 20, 1981.

The scare tactics being used by members of the Ku Klux Klan against Vietnamese American fisherman in the Galveston Bay area of Texas are deplorable. Such actions are contrary to U.S. tradition, not to mention being illegal. It's proper that a lawsuit has been filed in the matter, and swift attention from law enforcement officials should be forthcoming.

Klan representatives brazenly admit acts of intimidation, harrassment, threats, violence and other illegal measures in efforts to drive the immigrant fishermen out of business. Crosses have been burned, robed Klansmen carry guns on "patrol boats" in the area, and in recent weeks two Vietnamese-owned boats have been burned.

The announced reasons for these cowardly and un-American actions, other than blatant racism, is fear that Vietnamese-Americans will crowd prime shrimp-fishing waters, and wipe out the shrimp in certain areas. Any validity to such claims is destroyed by the manner in which the problem is being addressed.

There indeed may be a need for dialogue between local residents and the recent immigrants over the preferred methods of shrimp fishing, and the need for conservation measures. But to resort to the callous actions of the Klan is unconscionable.

This country was built by immigrants, all of whom have had to learn to live together in compatibility. That hasn't changed since the first white settlers arrived fleeing religious oppression in Europe. That spirit should not be aborted because of a band of racist degenerates terrorizing people merely because they are "different."

TOPIC VI - THE KU KLUX KLAN

Student Aim - Why is the Ku Klux Klan a danger to our society?

Instructional Objectives

1. Students will develop an understanding of the message, appeals and tactics of the Ku Klux Klan.
2. They will gain an understanding of the threat that the Klan represents to American society.
3. They will develop skill in critically evaluating material in the press on the Ku Klux Klan and other extremist groups.

Approach

1. Read the statement below to the class:

> ...The Klan's racist, anti-Semitic philosophy... is the breeding ground for hatred, the catalyst for violence, and the stuff that wars are made of. It is a poison that leads to a slow, agonizing death. The Klan philosophy threatens the very foundation upon which our society is built. We cannot, at this or any other time, afford the destruction the Klan promises.
>
> From "Under the Hood: A Report on the Ku Klux Klan in the Greater Los Angeles Area" by the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, November, 1980.

2. Analyze and discuss the statement. Explain that the aim of the lesson is to understand more thoroughly why the Klan is a danger to our society.

Development

1. Distribute to the class Reading 1 for Topic VI: The Public Relations Image Projected By The Klan.

In the discussion on the reading, include the following:

- What is the public relations image the Klan wants to project?
- Note the statements on belief in the Constitution, in a free press, and in law and order. However, Shelton indicates that the Klan has very special definitions of a "free press" and of "law and order."
- Note the statement that the Klan is not anti-anyone, just pro-American. However, its anti-black, anti-Jewish, and anti-immigrant philosophy comes through even in this public relations message. Shelton's anti-Catholic bias is not widespread in the Klan. The Klan was very anti-Catholic in the past, but today many Klan groups admit Catholic members.
- Shelton admits to a Klan belief in white supremacy. How does this belief negate Shelton's statements that the Klan is pro-American and believes in just laws and liberty?
- Shelton proclaims the Klan's strong belief in the tenets of Christianity. Can an organization that also proclaims its hatred of so many of its fellow men truly claim to be Christian?

2. Distribute to the class Readings 2, 3, and 4 for Topic VI: What Is the Ku Klux Klan Really Like?, A Calendar of Klan Violence and Lawlessness, Klan Paramilitary Training Camps and Weapons Training Activities.

3. Based on the readings, develop a broad outline of the characteristics of the Ku Klux Klan. Head the outline "What is the Ku Klux Klan Really Like?" Include the following characteristics:

   - racist
   - anti-Semitic
   - violent
   - anti-democratic
   - advocates hatred of non-whites, and racial segregation
   - opposes immigration from Latin America and the Orient
   - seeks publicity

- tries to appeal to youth and servicemen
- tries to appear reasonable and patriotic

4. Discuss the statistics on the Klan.

   Ask the following: Despite its small number of members why is the Klan dangerous to our country?

   - Its public espousal of a racist, anti-Semitic philosophy may increase the prejudiced behavior of people who are already prejudiced. In other words, certain "timid bigots," because of the urging of the Klan, might start to actively discriminate against and scapegoat certain racial, ethnic, or religious minorities.

   - It exploits people's legitimate concerns about certain economic and social issues in order to enter the mainstream of American political life.

   - It extols violent behavior. Klan members seem to have few inhibitions about killing other people. The Klan has the ability to threaten the freedom and lives of individuals, and sometimes, entire communities.

   - It reaches out to members of the armed forces. Discuss the dangers involved in having racial friction in the armed forces.

   - It has established paramilitary training camps. While paramilitary training is not violence *per se*, it is a deliberate program for violence. People training in these camps speak of a "coming race war" in the United States.

5. Discuss with students the major ways in which we learn about the Klan and its activities. Develop the understanding that we are dependent upon the mass media for most of our information.

   - Distribute to the class Reading 5 for Topic VI: *The Ku Klux Klan and the Press*.

6. Discuss the reading.

   - Note the admission by David Duke that the Klan is intentionally duping the press.

   - Explain that presenting KKK leaders as grandmothers is known as "humanizing" the members of hate groups. As the Loftis article points out, this is a technique frequently used by the press.

- Analyze the dangers of this kind of reporting.

7. As an illustration of the technique of "humanizing" the Klan, ask students to read Reading 6 for Topic VI: A Reporter Visits the Klan.

Summary-Application

Read the following statement to the class:

> In analyzing the threatening potential of the Klan, it is important that we not become complacent, saying, "It can't happen here." Germany in the 1930's shows us the Aryan ideal, combined with racism, anti-Semitism, and para-military activities, swept into power a movement similar to the Klan, with terrible results.
>
> From "Under the Hood: A Report on the Ku Klux Klan in the Greater Los Angeles Area" by the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, November, 1980.

- Analyze the statement.

- Ask: - Could the Klan gain power here in the United States?

Follow-up Activities

1. View the color/sound filmstrip The Ku Klux Klan: An American Paradox. Available from Educational Enrichment Materials, 357 Adams Street, Bedford Hills, New York 10507. Discusses the history, philosophy, and actions of the Ku Klux Klan. (c. 18 minutes).

2. If time permits, students can also view one or more films on the Klan (See Bibliography).

Readings for Topic VI

1. The Public Relations Image Projected By The Klan - Robert M. Shelton, The Ideals of A Klansman, from a leaflet titled "The Principle of the United Klans of America," dis-tributed by the Office of the Imperial Wizard, United Klans of America.

2. What is the Ku Klux Klan Really Like?

   A. Irwin Suall, "The Ku Klux Klan Malady Lingers On," excerpted from The Civil Rights Quarterly Perspectives (Fall, 1980 - Winter, 1981).

   B. Debra Nesselson, "Disrobing the Klan: Under the Hoods-Hoods!," excerpted from American Bar Association, Barrister (Spring, 1981).

   C. Randall Williams, "The Rise of 'New' Klans," excerpted from United Methodist Church, Engage/Social Action (Sept. 1981).

3. A Calendar of Klan Violence and Lawlessness - Source: The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

4. Klan Paramilitary Training Camps and Weapons Training Activities - Source: The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

5. The Ku Klux Klan And The Press

   A. Statement by David Duke - Imperial Wizard - Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, at the KKK September, 1979 National Convention in New Orleans.

   B. Randy L. Loftis, "Has The KKK Duped The Press?," excerpted from The Civil Rights Quarterly Perspective (Fall, 1980 - Winter, 1981).

6. A Reporter Visits The Klan - Roy Blount, Jr. "Today's New Klan," Parade (August 30, 1981).

Reading 1 for Topic VI

The Public Relations Image Projected By The Klan

IDEALS OF A KLANSMAN

by Robert M. Shelton
(Imperial Wizard - United Klans of America)

From the leaflet titled "The Principle of the United Klans of America," distributed by the Office of the Imperial Wizard, United Klans of America.

WE THE KLAN BELIEVE:

We believe in God and the tenets of the Christian religion, and that a Godless nation cannot long prosper.

The Christian religion is founded on the teaching of Jesus Christ. An infidel or a person who rejects Jesus Christ and His teachings, cannot be a true Klansman....

We believe in just laws and liberty....

We believe in the upholding of the Constitution of these United States....

We believe in a free press, uncontrolled by political or religious sects.

The press should be free to spread news without coloring it to suit any person or sect: But such is not the case, scarcely a newspaper anywhere dares to publish the truth: the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The press is largely controlled by the Roman Catholic priesthood and Judaism, and as a result the great masses of people are fed on propaganda instead of true facts....

We believe in law and order: In other words, the Klan believes in keeping the laws and in enforcing the laws. Many accusations have been brought against the Klan as lawbreakers. These accusations against the order are purely newspaper propaganda. So far we have not heard of a single instance where the Klan, by an official act, has violated any law.

We believe in white supremacy:

The Klan believes that America is a white man's country, and should be governed by white men. Yet the Klan is not anti-Negro, it is the Negro's friend. The Klan is eternally opposed to the mixing of the white and the colored races. Our creed: Let the white man remain white, the black man black, the yellow man yellow, the brown man brown, and the red man red....

We believe in limitation of foreign immigration:

No nation can absorb an unlimited number of foreigners and retain its national integrity and traditions. Immigration should be controlled by the nation which the immigrants are entering. The nation should be judge as to whom it will receive.

The traditions of America have well-nigh been buried under the avalanche of foreign ideas and ideals....

The Klan is not anti-Catholic, anti-Jew, anti-Negro, anti-Foreign, the Klan is pro-Protestant, and pro-American....

All true Klansmen and Klanswomen stand together on these American principles and will stake their lives on the perpetuation and protection of same.

Reading 2 for Topic VI

What Is The Ku Klux Klan Really Like?

A.

The Ku Klux Klan Malady Lingers On

Irwin J. Suall, Director, Fact
Finding Department, Anti-Defamation
League of B'nai B'rith, Excerpted
from The Civil Rights Quarterly
Perspectives (Fall 1980 - Winter
1981), pp. 11-15.

In June, 1980, a leader of the Ku Klux Klan won the Democratic Party's nomination for the U.S. Congress in California's 43rd Congressional District, which covers northern San Diego and several nearby communities....

[Tom] Metzger's affiliation with the Klan was widely publicized during the recent primary campaign, as were reports of Klan violence. Admittedly, his margin of victory was slim--only 318 votes out of 87,000 cast in a three-way race. But it is fair to say that a majority of the 34,000 voters who cast their ballots for Metzger, while almost certainly not Klan supporters themselves, probably were aware of his true colors and were apparently willing to overlook a candidate's extremism in order to convey a message of discontent. [In the general election that followed, Metzger lost but still managed to obtain 35,107 votes in a campaign in which his Klan affiliation was a major issue.]

Does this mean that support for the Klan is growing nationwide? Recent statistics on the growth of the hooded order are revealing. The Anti-Defamation League, which has long monitored the Klan, has reported a steady, albeit numerically limited, rise in hardcore membership from a base of 6,500 in 1975 to approximately 10,000 by the end of the decade. While this figure compares poorly with a total membership more than five times greater estimated as late as 1967, membership in today's Klan "empire" probably has not yet peaked, and its capacity to attract a following signifies that there indeed are Americans who find its message attractive.

Even more disturbing, ADL estimates that the Klan's open sympathizers --- those who have shown a readiness to attend the KKK's rallies, contribute to its funding and read its publications -- now number as many as 75,000 to 100,000 persons. Furthermore, there is increasing evidence that the number of passive onlookers who take quiet satisfaction from the Klan's growth and activities is growing significantly. Gallup Polls, for example, found that 10% of the American people approved of the Klan in 1979, up from 9% in 1973, 8% in 1970 and 6% in 1965. The newest resurrection of the hooded "invisible empire" appears to be meeting with an increasingly favorable response.

The KKK, it should be noted, is but a part of a wider extremist formation operating on the fringes of American political life. But in some instances, as in the Metzger case, these extremists have demonstrated creativity in toning down their radical image in an attempt to enter the mainstream of American political and social life. And working from the inside, the Klan, the National Socialists (Neo-Nazis) and other anti-democratic organizations could have an even more pernicious effect on the fabric of our society; this is what makes victories such as Metzger's so disturbing.

Reports from auditors at the Klan's rallies, and a systematic examination of Klan literature, indicate that the organization's exploitation of such controversial racial issues as busing and affirmative action has struck a responsive chord in certain blue collar and lower middle class sectors of the public. Also contributing to a climate favorable to organized racism is public anxiety over crime, inflation, the energy crisis and the new permissiveness surrounding sex, drugs, music and films. Furthermore, the gradually changing racial composition of the nation -- a result of new, nondiscriminatory immigration laws, illegal immigrants from Latin America and the arrival of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Indochina and Cuba--has enhanced the Klan's ability to attract an added following among xenophobes ...[those who fear and hate strangers].

Today's Klaverns (local units) are located for the most part in rural areas and in small to medium-sized towns. The only major cities in which they are found are New Orleans, Birmingham, Richmond and Denver. (Klaverns are also listed for San Diego, Houston, Miami and Tampa, but these are mainly comprised of residents of nearby smaller towns.) The geographical region in which the hooded "knights" have most notably swelled their ranks is the South. The only non-Southern states in which they have registered gains are California, Colorado, Ohio and, more recently, in Connecticut, western Pennsylvania and West Virginia. In New York, New Jersey, Maryland and Indiana there has been a noticeable decline in the Klan's vitality over the last two years. Looking at the Klan map, it becomes clear that just as in earlier periods of success, the present rise of the KKK is a symptom of recalcitrance and rebellion among elements of the population who feel their traditional, provincial, well-ordered life-styles are undergoing rapid and bewildering change.

We speak of "the Klan." Actually there are a number of Klan organizations, rivals for allegiance and viability. The largest of them is still the United Klans of America (UKA), headquartered in Tuscaloosa, Alabama and still headed by Robert Shelton, whose imprisonment for contempt of Congress helped bring about the Klan decline of the late 1960's. Membership, mostly longtime veterans of Klandom: 3,500 to 4,000.

The fastest-growing group, which is also the most militant and violence-prone, is the Invisible Empire, Knights of the KKK, headquartered in Denham Springs, Louisiana and led by Bill Wilkinson, a former electrical contractor in his late thirties who encourages his members to carry weapons openly. Wilkinson's Klan engages in dramatic confrontations with black civil rights demonstrators; these have resulted in shoot-outs, arrests, and wide media coverage. Membership: 2,000 to 2,500.

Next in size is the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKKK), made up of comparatively younger people and headed, until recently, by David Duke. Duke's "mod" looks and his pseudo-intellectual approach have made him a popular talk-show guest, as has his dramatic neo-Nazi ideology (he was once a follower of the late George Lincoln Rockwell). His Klan, now headed by successor Don Black of Tuscombia, Ala., is marked by a fierce anti-Semitism. Membership: 1,500 to 2,000.

Another major Klan organization thrust into the North in the late 1970's, but one which has dwindled during the last couple of years, has been largely the effort of the Confederation of Independent Orders of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the KKK. Based in Greenwood, Indiana, it is run by William M. Chaney, who was convicted and imprisoned as a result of a 1976 Indianapolis firebombing. Its present membership is about 1,500. In addition to the four groups named above, a number of miscellaneous independent Klans (National Knights, Federated Knights, Justice Knights, Ohio Knights, Adamic Knights, etc.) add another 500 or so to the total nationwide Klan membership of approximately 10,000.

The most significant aspect of the overall growth in the Klan groups over the last two years has been the parallel increase in their lawlessness and violence....

Speaking of his heavily armed minions, Klan leader Wilkinson has said: "These guns ain't for killing rabbits; they're to waste people. We're not going to start anything, but if anyone does, we're ready to defend ourselves." "Starting something" apparently means displeasing the Ku Klux Klan....

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of Klan activity is its appeal to youth. Today's Kluxers tend to be young. The age breakdown at a typical KKK rally runs like this: teenagers, 15%; early twenties to mid-thirties, 60-70%; late thirties and over, 15-25%. And a major effort is being made by both the Duke (now the Don Black) and Wilkinson groups to enlist children. ...Units of the "Youth Corps" have been formed, or recruitment drives mounted, in Los Angeles, San Diego, Denver, Oklahoma City, Birmingham, Chicago and other cities.

How potent, how dangerous, is the Klan today?...

The Ku Klux Klan is not presently a national threat -- nor is it likely to be. Its resurgence should be regarded as a series of warning beeps, not sirens of alarm. That is to say, it has neither the power nor the influence to wound our society as a whole, but its growing strength and the extent of its support should be taken as evidence that all is not well in the Republic.

The Klan can be neutralized if we tend to the roots from which its support grows, and it can be made to wither if its actions are countered by both good law and good sense. We must guard against injustice toward any racial groups. We must encourage and support vigorous law enforcement -- including a wider implementation of anti-masking laws already on the books in many states. Churches, community organizations, political parties, and business and labor groups all have a responsibility to remain vigilant against the encroachment of the Klan. The schools can aid in this effort by educating young people concerning the Klan's pernicious role in American history....

Finally, people of good will must pay heed to the problem of the Klan -- especially in those areas where it shows signs of real growth -- and not simply assume that it will wither away. If there are times when the "silent treatment" is appropriate (for example, when a small handful of KKKers desperately seek publicity for recruitment purposes), there are other circumstances that cry out for unequivocal, resolute and non-violent community responses. If such a united response is not forthcoming, the Klan's power and influence may indeed grow and wreak havoc upon us all.

B.

Disrobing the Klan: Under the Hoods - Hoods!

Debra H. Nesselson, Midwest Counsel,
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai
B'rith, Excerpted from American Bar
Association, Barrister (Spring,
1981).

In light of the resurgence that the Klan is experiencing, we are left with a simple question: Does the Klan ride again? No, not in the sense that Klansmen are galloping through the country on horseback, fomenting violence wherever they go. Today's Klan is meeting the challenges of modernity. Bill Wilkinson has traded in his horse for a $10,000 Piper Cherokee airplane. And, superficially, he has traded in much more.

Wilkinson has appeared on numerous television talk shows, clad in sophisticated three-piece suits; he refrains from publicly advocating violence and explains in gentle tones that the Klan of the present is not the Klan of yesteryear. Rather, he notes, today's Klan likens itself to other interest groups representing various causes. The Klan's raison d'etre, of course, is the protection of white rights.

Seeking to legitimize the Klan in the minds of the American people, Wilkinson even announced his endorsement of the Republican Party's '80 platform. While the endorsement was resoundingly rejected by party officials, it was not at all surprising that the Klan injected itself into the machinery of one of the major political parties. History shows that the Klan's political approach is geared to working within the mainstream of party politics, whether the party be Democratic or Republican.

Klan ideology and activity remain what they have always been, but with a few additions and modifications. While the Klan has been perceived correctly as anti-black and anti-Jewish, the targets of its hatred also include Hispanics, Asians, and American Indians. The Klan's message is clearly the same: Jews, blacks and other minorities are to blame for America's problems. White supremacy, not the Civil Rights Act, should reign as the law of the land.

The Klan's tactics, particularly those of Wilkinson's Invisible Empire, have become increasingly confrontational, reminiscent of its approach in the 1920's. Despite Bill Wilkinson's gentle statements to the contrary, it is clear that he openly encourages violence. What Wilkinson conveniently fails to mention on television talk shows he recalls at length and with ease at Klan rallies. He encourages his members to display weapons openly.

In addition, the Klan has been establishing paramilitary training camps around the country. These cladestine training sites are designed to prepare participants for guerrilla warfare. Participants use words like "defense" and "survival" to explain the need for such training....

Will the Klan continue to grow in the 1980's? It is difficult to predict. During the last year, Klan organizations have been in a state of flux. David Duke's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, once a unified and growing operation, has become fragmented since his resignation. Simultaneously, Wilkinson's Invisible Empire has expanded somewhat, and a number of new, independent Klans have appeared, making it difficult to assess the movement's overall strength.

Whether or not the Klans continue to expand, it is essential to place their fluctuating strength in proper perspective. In a country of 225 million people, fragmented Klan organizations with 10,000 to 11,000 members (and some 100,000 non-member sympathizers) are serious aberrations in a pluralistic society. History has shown that Klansmen often leave injury and death in their tracks. The Klan's exploitation of legitimate, controversial issues can make harmonious community relations difficult, if not impossible.

Whether the Klan will ride again, or even fly is unclear. What is clear is that it deserves to be taken seriously, its potential for spreading political insanity must not be taken lightly.

C.

The Rise of "New" Klans

Randall Williams - Director,
KLANWATCH. Excerpted from United
Methodist Church, Engage/Social
Action (September, 1981), pp.12-17.

There are two ways to look at Klan membership. First, 10,000 nuts seem like a lot, but even when backed by 100,000 sympathizers the number is a tiny minority of all U.S. citizens. On the other hand, it only takes a few people to plant a bomb or beat up an interracial couple or disrupt a local school system. Even with all their talk about a coming race war and their paramilitary training, the Klan does not represent a real threat to the national security. However, they are a very real threat to individual freedoms and sometimes to the peace and stability of entire communities....

A good example is what happened in Decatur, Alabama, when the Klan became active there in 1978-79 in response to Black demonstrations being held almost daily to protest the rape trial of a severely retarded man. Bill Wilkinson arrived in town, presided over a cross-burning on the steps of City Hall, and announced that the Klan would be "providing vigilante law for Decatur." Over the next few months these events occurred:

- Seven Klansmen threatened with a gun an interracial couple at a restaurant.

- A Black minister hitchhiking along an interstate highway was abducted by three carloads of white men and beaten.

- Some 200 armed Klansmen mobbed a grocery store being picketed by two Blacks.

- About 150 Klansmen with openly displayed guns motorcaded through Decatur in protest of a new city gun control law.

- A fifty-five car caravan of openly armed Klansmen drove through a Black neighborhood.

- A car belonging to a Black civic leader was vandalized.

- Twelve shots were fired into the home of a Black family living in a mostly white neighborhood.

- About 100 Klansmen armed with weapons ranging from tire tools to machetes blocked Black marchers in downtown Decatur in an incident in which five police, two Klansmen, and two Blacks were injured, and a hand-grenade device exploded outside a Black funeral home...

Fortunately, there are ways to meet the Klan threat....

The legal approach, especially, seems to be bearing fruit. In the... community situations mentioned above, lawsuits have been filed against the Klan and its leaders. Other suits are also pending, and there have been a number of recent criminal prosecutions.

These counter-attacks on the Klan appear to have placed at least the Invisible Empire and the Knights in precarious positions. Don Black, who succeeded David Duke as wizard of the Knights, was one of those arrested in New Orleans in connection with the plot to invade Dominica and he appears to be headed for prison. Wilkinson recently wrote a secret memo to his state leaders telling them to keep themselves and their members out of direct conflicts because the Invisible Empire could no longer pay its legal bills.

The KKK also deserves the attention of our government, both in law enforcement and law making. Klansmen certainly have the free speech and assembly rights of any of the rest of us, but the line should be drawn when they attempt to march with guns or when they burn crosses on the private property of others....

Federal and state laws now on the books give valuable protections against many illegal Klan activities, but these are worthless if they are not enforced. If police and community leaders look the other way when racists intimidate a Black couple moving into a white neighborhood, the Klan is strengthened. On the other hand, when community leaders stand up to the Klan and make it clear that racist speech and actions are not wanted in our society, the Klan's ability to recruit and to cause havoc is diminished....

Reading 3 for Topic VI

A Calendar of Klan Violence and Lawlessness

Source: The Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith.

1976 White U.S. marines, recruited by KKK involved in racial violence at Camp Pendleton.

1979 (June) GI's, members of the KKK, stand guard with weapons at a Klan rally in Euless, Texas.

1979 (Sept.) Three white sailors aboard the aircraft carrier Independence don Klan robes and confront black shipmates. An earlier cross burning reported on another carrier, the U.S.S. America.

1979 (Nov.) Greensboro - Shootout between Klansmen and anti-Klan protestors. Five dead.

1980 (January) Alabama - Two Alabama Klansmen pleaded guilty to charges of intimidating and injuring two black ministers who were patrons of a restaurant in Muscle Shoals.

1980 (February) New Jersey - Rifle shots were fired into the Barnegat Township home of a black couple. In January, 1981, a former KKK organizer and a former Klan member pleaded guilty to attempting to cause bodily harm with a weapon.

1980 (March) Alabama - An Alabama KKK member indicted for participating in a raid on a house in Hayden, Alabama, occupied by a racially mixed couple, and for injuring a black man. The KKK member was subsequently sentenced to eighteen months in prison (twelve months suspended) and five years probation.

1980 (April) Tennessee - Three KKK members arrested in Chattanooga, Tennessee, for wounding four black women by shotgun blasts from a passing car.

1980 (May) Tennessee - Two Klansmen from Cowan, Tennessee, charged with felonious assault with a deadly weapon in the shooting of a black man from Atlanta.

1980 (July) Tennessee - Three Klansmen arrested after they were seen discarding explosive materials from their car in a Chattanooga area already tense from the earlier shootings of four black women.

1980 (November) Michigan - Three Klan members pleaded guilty to conspiring to shoot a black man for drinking in a "white" bar in Detroit. A fourth pleaded guilty to conspiracy in harassing and intimidating a black family to drive them from their Romulus home.

1981 (February) Tennesee - A former Klan member reported that he had been kidnapped by a group of Klansmen, accused of being a government informer, covered with yellow paint and feathers, and pushed from a car.

1981 (April) Louisiana - Don Black, successor to David Duke as Imperial Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was one of eight Americans and two Canadians -- at least six of them Klansmen -- arrested by federal authorities in Slidell, Louisiana, and charged with plotting to invade the Caribbean Island republic of Dominica and overthrow its government. Seized also was a vanload of weapons, mostly automatic rifles and handguns, and 20 sticks of dynamite. The ten were indicted on seven counts of violation of federal law. Seven of the defendants pleaded guilty; two, including Don Black, were convicted, and one was acquitted.

1981 (May) Maryland - A series of raids by Treasury agents in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey on May 21 resulted in the arrest of 10 persons on firearms charges in connection with an alleged plot to firebomb the Baltimore headquarters of the NAACP. The Imperial Wizard of the Wilmington Klan, was indicted by a federal grand jury in Wilmington on June 3 on 20 counts involving firearms violations. Others indicted included a county leader of the Adamic Knights of the KKK, and a New Jersey Klansman.

1981 (May) Tennessee - Six persons were arrested following an attempt to plant dynamite in a Jewish house of worship, The Temple, in Nashville, and in connection with an additional alleged conspiracy to blow up a television tower and a number of Jewish-owned shops. One of those arrested was the female co-founder of a Klan splinter group, the Confederate Vigilantes, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Reading 4 for Topic VI

Klan Paramilitary Training Camps and Weapons Training Activities

Source: The Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith.

A new and potentially even more serious kind of Klan activity has developed over the last few years. In camps and clandestine training sites in various parts of the country, members of the KKK and other Klan-like racist groups are engaged in paramilitary training programs. Their sponsors sometimes call them "defense" training or "survival" courses. Regardless of the label, it is clear that armed racists, avowed haters of blacks, Jews, and other minority groups, are engaged in paramilitary training for guerrilla warfare against those they consider enemies.

-- Alabama: The Klan paramilitary organization in Alabama is conducted by the Invisible Empire, Knights of the KKK, headed nationally by Bill Wilkinson.

In September, 1980, Wilkinson's organization revealed that it operates a paramilitary campsite in an unspecified area near Cullman, Alabama.

Activities at the camp, called "My Lai," include target practice with M-16 rifles, exercises of running and crawling through an obstacle course, the study of guerrilla warfare tactics, and practice in search-and-destroy missions. According to the Klan, the full squad at the camp consists of fifteen persons. Ten men and one woman have been seen there, all dressed in military-style fatigues.

Grand Dragon Roger Handly has said that the Cullman unit is but one of several paramilitary sites in the state, and that the campsites are changed every three months.

-- California: The California Ku Klux Klan, while apparently not conducting paramilitary training activities, helps to promote such activities by distributing manuals and handbooks of instruction in terrorism and guerrilla warfare. The Klan's book service, the White Point Publishing Company, offers at least eleven works on the subject, including an army manual with instructions on how to make bombs, grenades, mines, chemical explosives, fuses, and detonators.

Under the leadership of Grand Dragon Tom Metzger, who ran for Congress in 1980, the California KKK has an armed, uniformed "security" force that has been repeatedly involved in violent clashes with police and anti-Klan demonstrators.

-- North Carolina: Members of the KKK, the neo-Nazi National Socialist Party of America (NSPA), and the National States Rights Party (NSRP) engage in weapons practice on a farm on State Road 13122 in Johnston County, North Carolina. The facility is on property owned by a former master sergeant in the Green Berets who is now head of the Carolina Knights of the KKK. Some of the Nazis who go through this weapons practice are members of the party's Security Division (DS), and wear black shirts with swastika armbands. Some of the Klansmen are members of the KKK Security Guard; they wear gray uniforms and tall black boots.

Members of the groups that train at the camp were among those arrested in connection with the November, 1979 Greensboro shooting episode.

-- Texas: The "Texas Emergency Reserve" -- paramilitary arm of the Ku Klux Klan in Texas -- includes members of the two Klan groups, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the smaller Original Knights of the KKK. The TER conducts training activities at various sites in rural East Texas, one of which is located "roughly 10 miles outside Anhuac."

Membership in the TER is somewhere from 200 to 500, many of them veterans of various branches of the armed forces. Some have been active-duty members of the U.S. Army stationed at Fort Hood, and they have been observed wearing army fatigues and bearing firearms while serving as security guards at a Klan rally in Euless, Texas, in June, 1979, and again at the 1979 Labor Day weekend national convention of the Knights of the KKK in New Orleans.

On the 50-acre Anhuac camp, guerrilla warfare is taught to armed TER members by two instructors. The training, includes tactical maneuvers, military drills, map reading, and weapons proficiency. The weapons include Colt AR-15 assault rifles and special grenade launch attachments.

The camp near Anhuac was temporarily closed recently due to the publicity it had received, but the paramilitary training sessions have continued elsewhere in the state.

Louis Beam, the Grand Dragon of the Texas KKK who served as an instructor at the Anhuac. told the Flint Journal in June 1981 "We'll set up our own state here [Texas] and announce to all non-Whites that they have 24 hours to leave. Lots of them won't believe it or won't believe us when we say we'll get rid of them, so we'll have to exterminate a lot of them the first time around."

Reading 5 for Topic VI

The Ku Klux Klan and The Press

A.

Statement by David Duke - Imperial Wizard - Knights of the Ku Klux Klan at the KKK September, 1979 National Convention in New Orleans.

Duke - Not everyone is to get on a soapbox. Some say the wrong things. You're asked, "Why did you join the Klan?" and you reply, "Well, I want to hang some niggers you know."

Delegate (Shouts out) - Right on!

Duke - Yeah, and that may sound good, but that's not exactly what we're trying to get over to the American public...there should be a "media line" that everyone adheres to.

B.

Has the KKK Duped the Press?

Randy L Loftis, Assistant City Editor of the Anderson Independent, Anderson, S.C., Excerpted from article of same name in The Civil Rights Quarterly Perspective (Fall 1980 - Winter 1981), pp.14-15.

On Saturday morning, Nov. 3, 1979, America got two very different views of the Ku Klux Klan. One view came from the press, which has been intrigued lately with the contrast between the Klan's old image of violence and its new image as a slightly emotional conservative group. The other view came from the streets of Greensboro. "Grandmother of 14 Proud to be KKK Leader," proclaimed a headline in a midwestern paper that day. And from Dallas came a story about the Klan's efforts to recruit women. Klan leaders present such stories as proof that theirs is no longer a violent, anti-social hate group.

Before noon on that day, five Communists lay dead or dying in Greensboro, and police were rounding up more than a dozen Klansmen and Nazis to face charges of first-degree murder and rioting.

The nation was surprised. But it shouldn't have been, and in the opinion of growing numbers of concerned Americans, the press shares part of the responsibility.

"The press had tended to glamorize the Klan," says Dr. Joseph E. Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "They have portrayed the Klan as the great American movement, and they have not shown the ugliness. They will give more coverage to a Klan rally than to one by blacks."

That may be because many reporters and editors find the imagery of the "new" Klan irresistible, but in the process they have depicted a Klan that largely doesn't exist. The media's Klan is at once peaceful, sophisticated and articulate, and a highly organized underground military movement ready to strike. Neither image is entirely correct, but each works off the other to perpetuate myths. And it goes without saying that the press has explored only superficially the social forces at work that make the Klan seem more acceptable to the nation....

Where does all this lead? The Klan has succeeded, it seems, in dulling public response to its excesses. In South Carolina, for example, fewer than a dozen people wrote to the state's daily paper to comment on the Greensboro shootings. "People are more concerned about their garbage pickup," one editor said.

Dr. Fred Crawford, director of Emory University's Center for Research in Social Change, says he doubts that the Klan can achieve any real influence -- but only as long as the press focuses a sharply critical eye on it. Crawford recalls an old truisim, almost forgotten in the deluge of publicity about sophisticated racism: "Remember how Hitler did it? He just told the biggest lies and told them over and over, and pretty soon everybody believed them."

Reading 6 for Topic VI

August 30, 1981
parade

TODAY'S NEW KLAN

by Roy Blount Jr.

'Cheap Klan labor" was the term Slick and I came up with. For access to most surefire story subjects, you have to wade through agents, secretaries and aides who wonder exactly what *kind* of story you have in mind and how much time you'll need...

But the Ku Klux Klan, these days, is easy. They will put on their robes for you and light crosses for you and take you out into the woods and show you their guns and maneuvers, and they will come out with startling quotes. They will even give you reason to believe that you might, with luck, get caught up in a shootout between them and the Communists.

So rather than try to infiltrate the Klan, I thought I would see whether it could infiltrate me. I'm a white Southerner, and I tend to like what you might call redneck institutions. I don't even consider myself too pure to spend time with people, of any race, who harbor vestiges of racism. I figured that if today's media-savvy Klan was rapidly attracting decent people across the nation, as it claimed to be, I would recognize its new appeal. I wouldn't be happy about it, because I don't see how anything could make me stop feeling ashamed of the Klan, but I have often told liberal Northerners, "You know, Klansmen are *people*." They have refused to agree. Many people love to hate Klansmen, from a distance, and hate is always too simple a notion.

I might as well tell the most disgusting part of this story first. With photographer Slick Lawson, who shares my ethnic tastes, I made contact with Roger Handley, Alabama Grand Dragon of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and Terry Tucker, head of Special Forces. They arranged a special cross-lighting for us. The Invisible Empire is the most visible of the nation's several Klan factions and also the most militant. Handley and Tucker have received a lot of national publicity for their insistence that a race war is coming and that the Empire is going to be ready for it because of its commando training in the woods.

Personally, I can't recall the last riot that took place in the woods, but there is no denying that lonely dirt roads — when you are driving at night near Cullman, Ala., with a Klan car in front of you and a Klan car in back of you — have racial overtones. The lead car pulled over to the side, and so did we, and so did the car behind. It was a scene out of TV movies. The scene where somebody gets shot. Slick and I jumped out, and Slick armed himself with his camera.

It was a clear night, but all I could see were pine trees that didn't want to get involved. Nothing happened. We waited. I couldn't even hear any crickets.

Finally, Handley called to us from the lead car: "Uh, if y'all are ready, we can go on." It turned out we had just stopped for Tucker to go to the bathroom.

At the cross site, everybody seemed nice enough at first. There were maybe 60 people around, a number of whom, including Tucker, were dressed in Green Beret camouflage fatigues and carrying M-15 assault rifles. The Imperial Night Hawk had a long sword with a decorative blade that he was proud of. I was not too proud of it, or of the assault rifles, myself, but there were several women and children around, and people were chatting. "What you been up to?" "Nice night for it." Nobody minded being photographed. Handley, a sheet-metal worker disabled by a bad back, observed that "lynching's not needed anymore." People were complaining about affirmative action and block-busting, and claiming that integration was ruining the public schools. The kind of talk you hear at the country club. Every now and then, someone in a camouflage suit would dash off to check the perimeter, wherever that was, but that reminded me of Scout camp except for the rifles.

Nobody said anything funny. That was amazing. The atmosphere was like that of a coon hunt, and a coon hunt is full of good stories. Slick told a good one—I think he made most of it up on the spot, from his Army days—about the time he parachuted and landed on a picnic table, got potato salad all over his shoulder...The Klan chuckled but didn't come up with any tales of their own. They hefted their rifles and looked edgily toward the perimeter.

That's when I met Bill Riccio, 24, then a Birmingham car dealership sales manager. (He since went to prison to serve out a 10-year federal sentence imposed and then suspended in 1979 for possession of an illegal weapon.) Riccio said he was Alabama Grand Chaplain but shortly was introduced by Handley as the Great Titan, so he said he guessed that's what he was now, but at any rate he had held a religious post, and he was a pudgy, blond, rational-seeming guy. Even though his assault rifle was fully loaded and he said the FBI's file on him was 6300 pages thick, I didn't feel threatened. He mentioned something about murdered black kids in Atlanta.

I figured this might be a point at which a new media-savvy Klansman might slip up and say something embarrassing. Something like, "I of course deplore the idea of children dying, *but*..."

"What do you think about that whole thing?" I asked casually.

"Well," he said, "some people might think my opinion is kinda morbid. I don't think I better say. I'll say *this*: Little niggers grow up to be big niggers. And that's 20 of 'em we won't have to kill later. I'm not one to do anything to a child, *but*..."

There I was, standing out in the woods with this guy, feeling nauseated. Ashamed of myself for listening. Riccio went on: "I've taken a sales course, I've taken psychology in college. And I know what stimuli make people respond. There's gonna be a race war. And the white man will stand up.

"I got caught in the Birmingham riots when I was 6. If it hadn't been for Bull Connor, who people call a brutal policeman—Bull Connor's police protected me. I've seen what animals niggers can be."

Then the Klansmen who weren't in camouflage donned their robes—only one or two with face-covering hoods—and the speeches began.

Handley, a stolid type who looked like his back was bothering him, invoked Jesus and told us that Jews and "the ape nigger" were out to destroy white civilization, which he was proud to represent. It was a fine thing that the Klan had helped put President Reagan in office, he said, but when the new Administration cut back on all the giveaway programs, the minorities were going to loot and burn. And this time white people were going to take up the gun against "this festering sore ape that's around our feet holding the white man back." The Klan wouldn't be satisfied, he said, until the last minority person was either dead or jumping into the ocean to swim back to Africa.

Then he brought on Riccio. "Look at these little children!" Riccio cried. "These little blond-haired, blue-eyed children!" Actually only one of the three small kids who were standing in front of him, looking only rather mildly fascinated, was blond. "If it hadn't been for the Klan, there wouldn't *be* any white children. Just be little brown kinky-haired, animal-looking things crawling around."

He denounced the TV show *Diff'rent Strokes*, in which "a white man takes in two nigger childen, and these animal-looking things call him Daddy. These festering-with-hate ape niggers."

Well, 42 robed figures circled the cross, which was over 20 feet high and wrapped with rags soaked in diesel fuel (which was getting too expensive, Handley complained). They raggedly executed a torch-lighting ceremony. "We do not burn the cross, we *light* the cross, that the forces of light may drive out the forces of darkness," said Handley.

Foom!—the cross went up, and 20 or so on-lookers went "Ooo" and "That's a *good* one," and as the blaze died down, people disrobed and chatted and rounded up their kids. Riccio, looking flushed, said: "Some other Klan groups don't have a real clear creed. They say niggers are all right just as long as they stay in their place. We say either they go back to Africa, or they can be fertilizer for our farms. One of the two races is going to be extinct from North America.

"And the Jewish problem must be settled, a Final Solution. I'm not going to hang up my robe until the last Jew is deported to Palestine or executed."

Slick and I drove to Nashville and got drunk. We were not brimming with ethnic pride. I almost felt that I never wanted to hear country music or chew tobacco again. "I feel like putting on a tux and listening to chamber music," Slick said.

"These people ought not to be out loose," I was thinking. I remembered, with satisfaction, a high incidence of low foreheads, slack jaws, bad teeth. And, with apprehension, rifles. And grins. "These people are *scum*," I thought.

That was the first time the Klan got into me.

Later, Slick and I spent time with the Tennessee branch of the Invisible Empire and with Bill Wilkinson, the Empire's founder and national head: the Imperial Wizard. And our impression of the Klan became more humanized.

Wilkinson was visiting Tennessee from national headquarters, his home in Denham Springs, La. He wore conservative gray suits, smoked decent cigars and almost never said "nigger." (He may be the last person in America who says "Negro.") In context, I almost began to feel fond of him, because he never once made me want to throw up. I've met any number of people in, say, the entertainment business whom I liked less. I was willing to believe him when he said the Klan no longer condoned corporal punishment. It was with real embarrassment, I think, that he admitted having to banish a couple of Klansmen recently for tarring and feathering a couple of previously banished Klansmen.

Wilkinson talks well on the radio. He looks a bit like George Wallace, only considerably better. His chin's not his strongest feature, but he's got some charisma, and also he's been on national television. When he showed up at a big Klan rally in Pulaski, Tenn., people oohed and ahhed and clustered around for autographs. Young girls stole kisses from him and came away saying to each other, "Ain't he a *fox*?"

He also articulates a clear economic argument based on white lower-middle-class self-interest. The Klan, especially in the South, which has long resisted unions, is the party of people who aren't supposed to have any self-interest but do. They feel, with some justification, that they are being forced out of jobs—by blacks who are favored under affirmative-action programs, by Mexican laborers who slip over the border, by Vietnamese who are resettled in this country and given a helping hand by the government. They are people whose kids don't make the basketball team anymore, whose neighborhoods are changing character, who are threatened by street crime. People who have never had much money or education but have always prided themselves on being white and knowing how to handle a gun. They resent the fact that their kids pick up black-culture mannerisms and phrases ("fox," for instance) from TV.

The Klan today also prides itself on taking in women, Catholics and long-hairs. Both Riccio and Tex Moore, the Grand Dragon of Tennessee, described themselves as Catholics who've moved away from the church because it has turned its back on segregation. Of course if the Klan were to exclude the long-haired, it would be missing out on some of the scariest old boys in the world. For instance, the two hulking, stoned-looking perimeter guards at the Pulaski rally who identified themselves blearily as "extremely lapsed Mennonites." They carried heavy-gauge guns and a stick with a circular saw blade set in it.

The Klanswomen were interesting. Mary Stickle, a former Marine sergeant, said, "I'm proud to be a Klansperson" but said she believed that the Equal Rights Amendment was "from the pits of Hell." If women would stay home satisfying their husbands, she said, they wouldn't be out getting savaged by blacks. She told of a life of constant scrapping—from her childhood among five rough brothers ("They say I hit them with rocks, with the coal-oil bucket.") to her current life of harassment in a tough East Nashville neighborhood, where somebody had burned down her store and ransacked her house. She and her son had recently fought two women and a man and put them all in the hospital, she said, adding that she felt fortified since she joined the Klan and a number of fellow Klansmen, robed, had massed in front of her house. She is the Great Titan of Tennessee. I liked her.

I also liked Phoebe Wair, secretary of the Tennessee Klan, who said that in the two years since she and her husband Tommy (Grand Klaliff) had joined the Klan "our marriage has been better than in the other 15. We're meeting good white people who don't drink. And it's something my husband and I can do together, that we can talk about." She also said, "You know the Jews don't believe in Jesus. That's something I didn't know until not long ago. That kind of threw me for a loop."

The Pulaski rally was held on the property of a cheerful silver-haired lady who believed that Adam was not the first man but the first *white* man, an improvement over the "Pre-Adamic" races—that is, "the Egyptians, the Asiatics, the niggers." The Bible, she said, "is the history of the white man. The Jews claim *they're* the people of the Book, but they're Canaanites and Edomites, not Aryans."

While I was trying to sort that out, I overheard a conversation between two thirtyish men: "You know, Teddy Kennedy is straight Communist."

"I was in Nam. I don't like *no* Vietnamese. Hate 'em. Spent two years getting shot at by them people, and now they're bringing 'em over here and giving 'em a house."

"And you don't get anything."

"I believe fast as they build those houses, I can burn 'em down."

All day before the Pulaski rally, a Japanese TV network crew followed Wilkinson around interviewing him. But when they showed up at the rally, the Japanese among them were kept out because they were Asian. The American woman who was working with them got in, but two old boys cornered her at one point and said, "Are you taking things to them Japs? That can be *stopped*, you know. 'Cause if you can't stick to your own race, you're in bad trouble."

Throughout the rally, security men with rifles and semi-automatic tommy guns and just-barely-legal sawed-off shotguns were contacting each other via crackly walkie-talkies. "Check over there. I think them Japs are sneaking in."

In Pulaski, I got back to feeling more open-minded about the Klan. The speeches were considerably less loathsome and, in fact, evoked sympathy for the marginal white worker. But I wasn't feeling infiltrated.

It seems to me that any organization in this day and age that speaks out for free enterprise but can't relate to the Japanese is not what you would call upscale. The Klan's rank and file like to talk about being better than "minorities" because they don't feel better than anybody else, and the leaders like being around the rank and file because they wouldn't appear to have much leadership potential compared with anybody else. Wilkinson is smart, all right, but that is to say smart for a Klansman. He is not very smart compared with, say, Vernon Jordan, or Morris Dees, the Alabama lawyer whose Southern Poverty Law Center has organized a Klan Watch that is building cases against Klansmen involved in violence.

Wilkinson doesn't hate anybody, he says, and he may well have too complicated a mind for that. He reads *Black Enterprise* magazine on airplanes to keep up with the other camp. "Of course I'm not saying you won't find some Klansmen who hate Negroes' *guts*," he says with a you-know-how-folks-are chuckle. I would say that Wilkinson almost, but not quite, knows how folks are.

He's willing to share his thinking, though. The Klan today frightens me less than the secret Klan of the '60s, which was lodged deeper in the infrastructure. Wilkinson says his Empire is emulating the civil rights movement—parading, clashing with the publicity-seeking Communist Workers Party, getting on TV. "The squeaky wheel gets the grease. White Americans have got to learn to squeak."

Wilkinson feels that his wheel is gathering momentum as the nation bears right. But I can't see that the Klan has the pervasive potential of the blander Moral Majority, or even of *Diff'rent Strokes*. If you want to be racist and complain about people on welfare, as Slick said, "There are so many other things you can join."

True, those robes and crosses remain a marketable, revivable quantity, like the word "Jaws." But for all its modification of image, the Klan's distinction—and its usefulness—is still that it reflects *raw* racism and reminds us how real and nasty that is. "We don't hate minorities," said Tommy Wair in a speech at Pulaski. "We just hate being forced to associate with them ..."

The Klan is also counterrevolutionary, as always, because it helps divide the American proletariat into white and non-white. The Communist Workers Party does the same thing by taking the Klan as a target.

Cheap Klan labor.

There are, however, all those guns, which squawk louder than words. A majority of all American households now are armed, and the Klan is out there in public, brandishing the most lethal legal weapons and urging all white people to stockpile ammunition. Recently Tennessee Grand Titan Stan King was creased by two bullets fired at him point-blank through his screen door by a disgruntled banished Klansman.

Along with King, the Wairs, Tex Moore, Mary Stickle and several other Klanspeople we got to know, Slick and I went on a support-your-local-police march in Clarksville, Tenn. The marchers were armed only with sticks, but there were raunchy-looking security men driving along behind with heavy firepower in their trunks. The Communist Workers Party supposedly had advised the local media that they were going to be on hand, ready to clash.

As it turned out, the CWP didn't show. And only minimal curiosity was aroused in Clarksville as we paraded through the streets past Mack's Café ("Bean Soup. Vegetable Soup. Special Breakfast.") toward the courthouse. But we were all scanning the horizon for Reds, and our buddy Tex Moore said to me, "I don't know. You might be a minority sympathizer. And we'd shoot you quicker than anybody. Because it's the sympathizers that have caused the trouble."

Caught up in the drama of covert minority-sympathy and imminent exposure to crossfire, I was hanging in there right next to Tex, and I was *up*. I was thinking, "This must be what combat is like. Sort of." Maybe Slick and I would get shot together and win an award. I was even thinking that if I got wounded in the line of duty, I wouldn't have to worry about certain pressing personal matters for a while. I was aware that these were stupid thoughts, but I had them anyway. I was *excited*.

That was the other time the Klan got into me.

Roy Blount Jr., author of "Crackers" and "About Three Bricks Shy of a Load," comes from Georgia. When robed Klansmen walked into a church and put a bag of money in the collection plate, his great-grandfather gave it back to them.

TOPIC VII - THE KU KLUX KLAN TARGETS THE YOUNG

Student Aim - How is the Klan trying to recruit the young through appeals to fear and bigotry?

Instructional Objectives

1. Prior learnings on the Klan's philosophy of racism and violence, and on its exploitation of fears and prejudices to recruit followers, will be reinforced.
2. Students will recognize that some young people who are not affiliated with the Klan also engage in bigoted, destructive behavior.
3. Students will be better prepared to reject the appeals of the Klan (and other like-minded groups) for youth to enroll in their programs.

Approach

Read the statements below to the class:

> ...Uptight about schools --- or just about Negroes!!! Have you "had it" with blacks following you home to beat you up, or "holding" your lunch money for you? Are you "fed up" with special privileges given to blacks by school administration simply because they are black? Are you really uptight because White girls have to submit to being violated by crowds of grinning black thugs?---
>
> ---We the White youth must join together and stop the blacks from ripping off, beating up and violating White kids.---
>
> ---Get on the Klan Van---
>
> ---The Klan Youth Corps' 5-Point Program
>
> 1. Organize along racial lines
> 2. Get tough with non-White punks
> 3. Threaten school administrators with public exposure and boycotts

4. Demand equal rights for White students

5. Support segregation of classes and then segregation of schools--

Excerpted from a flyer distributed on
a Minneapolis streetcorner.

Development

1. Analyze the statements. Speculate about the effects that Klan recruitment activities would have on a school. Discuss the tensions and divisiveness that would result.

   - Note that the Klan is making blacks the scapegoats for anything a student may not like about his or her school. In the first line they ask: "Uptight about schools?" The Klan then provides the student with a ready-made reason why he is "uptight."

   - Note that the school administrators are also identified as the enemy - to make the students feel there is a conspiracy against them.

2. Tell the class that in the flyer the word "white" is always capitalized, e.g. "White youth," "White students." The word "black" is always written lower case. Why? Review the definition of white supremacy.

3. Distribute copies of Reading 1 for Topic VII: Klan Youth Corps Activity. Discuss the reading.

   - Note the many different areas where incidents involving Klan Youth Corps members have occurred. In addition to the states mentioned in the reading, there has also been Klan Youth Corps activity in Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, New Jersey, and Oklahoma.

   - If there has been Klan Youth Corps activity in your state, you might wish to add examples of incidents in your area to those listed in the reading.

4. Tell the class that in order to learn more about the Klan's recruitment of young people, they will be seeing a film, "Klan Youth Corps," available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017.

This eleven-minute film was originally presented as part of the CBS-TV program, "30 Minutes" (the young people's version of the network's popular investigative journalism magazine program, "60 Minutes").

News correspondent Christopher Glenn reports on the Ku Klux Klan's efforts to recruit young people, aged 10 to 17, into the Klan Youth Corps. The film describes various aspects of the Klan, including its dissemination of racist propaganda and its advocacy of violence. One particular sequence presents a cross-burning ceremony. The film takes its viewers to a summer camp in Warrior, Alabama, where they see young people trained to shoot firearms, and encouraged to use the same racist slogans that are spouted by the elder Klansmen. The Klan brags that the indoctrination campaign is so successful that 100% of the youngsters become members of the adult Klan when they reach the age of 18.

The film offers some criticism of Klan activities by Barnet Lewis, a Southern civil rights leader. In addition, at the end of the film, youngsters who have rejected the recruiting efforts of the Klan are also interviewed.

5. Discuss the film:

   - How successful was the recruiting campaign in the supermarket?
   - Why do some young people join the Klan?
   - Comment on the statement that the Klan is acting defensively.
   - Why can't the Klan be considered a religious organization?
   - What are some examples of stereotyping and scapegoating in the film?
   - How does Klan propaganda affect those who are unstable?
   - What is your reaction to the training of youngsters in arms and guerrilla tactics?
   - How does hatred affect the hated?
   - What are the encouraging aspects of this film?

6. Explain to the class that, unfortunately, bigoted young people do not have to become official members of the Klan Youth Corps in order to engage in anti-black, anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant

behavior. Such behavior is imitative of the Klan, and just as destructive. Distribute to the class copies of Reading 2 for Topic VII: The Vandalism of Young Bigots.

7. Discuss the newspaper reports of the terror and destruction caused by young people.

   - Note the statement by the Montgomery County police chief that the youths could have been "motivated by...their own sense of what is a joke." Should harassment and/or destruction by teenagers be regarded as a "prank?"

8. Point out that the incidents reported on, in each case, involved a number of teenagers working together. Use Reading 3 for Topic VII: Going Along With Bigotry to discuss the force of peer pressure on teenagers acting in anti-social ways. How can such pressure best be resisted?

Summary

Read to the class and then have them discuss the following statement:

> The youth corps passes the thread of extremist racist thought to the next generation. The racist indoctrination of Klan children is sad but real. Similarities can be drawn, though Klansmen will deny them, to the Hitler Youth, which fifty years ago gave troubled and misguided youths a uniform, a regimen and ill-founded self-respect based on scapegoating minorities.
>
> That scapegoating is a major reason adult Klansmen blame economic and other ills on Blacks and Jews. Klan children are taught to place blame rather than to seek solutions.

Randall Williams, "Building The Future Klan," United Methodist Church, Engage/Social Action (September, 1981), p.34.

Application

Your friend shows you a membership form for the Klan Youth Corps (Reading 4 for Topic VII) that he was handed near the school. He read it, and thinks the Youth Corps sounds like a patriotic organization that is trying to make America a strong, proud nation.

How do you convince him that he is mistaken? Tell him what you know about the Klan and the Klan Youth Corps, and show him how he is wrong in his analysis of the Youth Corps membership form.

Readings for Topic VII

1. Klan Youth Corps Activity - Source: The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

2. The Vandalism of Young Bigots -

   A. "Five Montgomery Youths Charged in Cross Burning," The Washington Star, June 17, 1981.

   B. "Anti-Semitic Acts Continue On L.I.; 3 Youths Arrested," The Jewish Week, August 30, 1981.

   C. "Vandals Shake West Babylon Dream," Newsday, July 13, 1981.

3. Going Along With Bigotry - Nina Hersh Gabelko and John U. Michaelis, Reducing Adolescent Prejudice (New York: Teachers College Press, 1981).

4. Membership Application For The Klan Youth Corps.

Reading 1 for Topic VII

Klan Youth Corps Activity

Source: The Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai Brith

-- San Diego, California - A series of events, ranging from KKK graffiti appearing on school property to the appearance of Klan Youth Corps leaflets in or near school buildings, plagued San Diego schools in 1979. KKK literature was found in eight to ten city high schools during this period, including Mira Mesa, Patrick Henry, Kearny, and Garfield Independent Learning Center.

-- Torrance, California - A tabloid-style hate sheet called The White Student is published here. It has headlines like "White Students Have Had Enough," and "America is a White Man's Country." In 1979 copies of the White Student were mailed to thousands of San Diego high school students together with a membership application to the Klan Youth Corps.

-- Decatur, Alabama - Location of an outdoor Klan camp for children. This camp, combining racist indoctrination and weapons training with sports and recreation, has been set up by Invisible Empire Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson. Here teenagers are taught to fire guns and are given lessons in racism. "I don't mind admitting we want to brainwash these kids," Wilkinson says. The effects of such brainwashing can be seen in this statement by a Youth Corps member at the Alabama camp: "It [the Klan] stands for white supremacy. You know, to fight the Communists, fight the niggers and the Jews and the Vietnamese, you know, all the Jews that's come into America. And it means, you know, white supremacy."

-- Jackson, Mississippi - Charges were dropped against the child of a local Klan member, who was accused of tear gassing black students during an argument on a school bus. Following the tear gassing incident, a flyer was circulated urging teachers and administrators to "suspend as many blacks as they can..."

-- Houston, Texas - A KKK paramilitary camp near Houston was revealed to be the scene of "guerrilla warfare" training for a group of teenage Explorer Scouts. In November, 1980 the camp closed following protests from the community, and the national Boy Scouts organization denied a charter to the Explorer post set up by those associated with the paramilitary camp.

-- Winston-Salem, North Carolina - The superintendent of schools received a letter saying that Klan Youth Corps units had been formed at five local schools and more were planned. Accompanying the letter was a calling card reading, "You have been paid a friendly visit by the KKK. Would you like a real visit?"

— Louisville, Kentucky - A student was discovered to be passing out Klan literature at a local high school.

-- Largo, Florida - A teenager wearing a Klan robe loaned him by an adult was caught in a cross-burning incident.

-- Hampton, Virginia - Cards soliciting members for the Klan Youth Corps were distributed to junior high school students.

-- Detroit, Michigan - In March, 1981, some white students at Cass Technical High School, calling themselves "The Junior Ku Klux Klan," circulated white supremacist literature, spray painted lockers with swastikas, and assaulted a student with a knife.

Reading 2 for Topic VII

The Vandalism of Young Bigots

A.

The Washington Star
June 17, 1981

Five Montgomery Youths Charged in Cross Burning

By Gregg Morris
Washington Star Staff Writer

Five juveniles accused of burning a cross May 26 in front of the Poolesville home of a black family have been arrested and are awaiting a hearing in juvenile court, Montgomery County police said yesterday.

Police would not release the names of the youths, but said three Beallsville youths, a 17-year-old and two 16-year-olds, and two Dickerson youths, 16 and 14, were arrested June 10 and charged with arson, a felony. Because of their ages, the boys, who were released to the custody of their parents, may not be prosecuted as adults.

The five white youths told police the wooden cross, which was made by nailing together two two-by-fours soaked in kerosene, was burned as a prank.

County Police Chief Bernard D. Crooke said yesterday an investigation of the incident was continuing even though there was no indication it was "Klan-related."

"This police department will continue to address these incidents whether we believe them to be the work of organized hate groups or individuals motivated by their own prejudice or their own sense of what is a joke," Crooke said.

County Executive Charles W. Gilchrist has scheduled a meeting with residents, community leaders and police next week to announce the county's plans in response to reports of hate-group activity increasing in the county.

On May 26, a jogger saw a cross burning on the lawn in front of a town house in the 19700 block of Wootton Avenue, extinguished it and alerted the black family who lives in the house.

The five youths were arrested after a police officer received a tip that led him to one suspect. While working on the tip, the investigating officer discovered that green paint residue found on the cross matched the color of the newly painted garage of the suspect's family.

After interviewing the youth, police arrested him and four of his friends.

Police officers in Maryland suspect the Klan has been using juveniles for some cross burnings because the youths are not prosecuted as severely as adults and because the incidents appear to be pranks, a county police officer said.

The recent Montgomery cross burning was thought to be at least the fourth such incident reported in the past six months, but an officer also said the Poolesville area has had about four cross burnings in the last 12 months. Police said they believe the number of cross-burning incidents reported do not accurately reflect the number that occur because some incidents go unreported.

The 31-year-old black woman who lives with her two boys in the Poolesville town house said yesterday she has not had any problems in the area, where she has lived four years.

"It was a surprise," said the woman, who explained she did not want her name used because "I have children in elementary school, and I don't want them bothered by anyone because my name was in the paper."

Other residents, black and white, who live in the same town-house complex said they they can't recall any racial incidents in their complex, which has four black families.

Police said the number of racial incidents directed against blacks and Jews in the county seem to be increasing, although the crimes cannot be directly traced to organized white supremacist groups such as the Klan.

B.

THE JEWISH WEEK

AUGUST 30, 1981

Anti-Semitic acts continue on L.I.; 3 youths arrested

The number of anti-Semitic incidents on Long Island continued to grow last week with a reported arson fire in the woods behind a synagogue, the arrest of three juveniles — one Jewish — for making a series of anti-Semitic phone calls to a Dix Hills rabbi, and the desecration of a Jewish day camp with swastikas and anti-Semitic obscenities. The fire near the East Northport Jewish Center was quickly discovered by neighbors and did little damage. A swastika was discovered painted on the rear driveway, which police believe was also the work of an arsonist, according to the synagogue's rabbi, Stanley Wernick. Police were still hunting last week for the persons who set the fire at the synagogue and desecrated the campgrounds. The fire was the first such anti-Semitic incident at the synagogue in more than a year, Wernick noted.

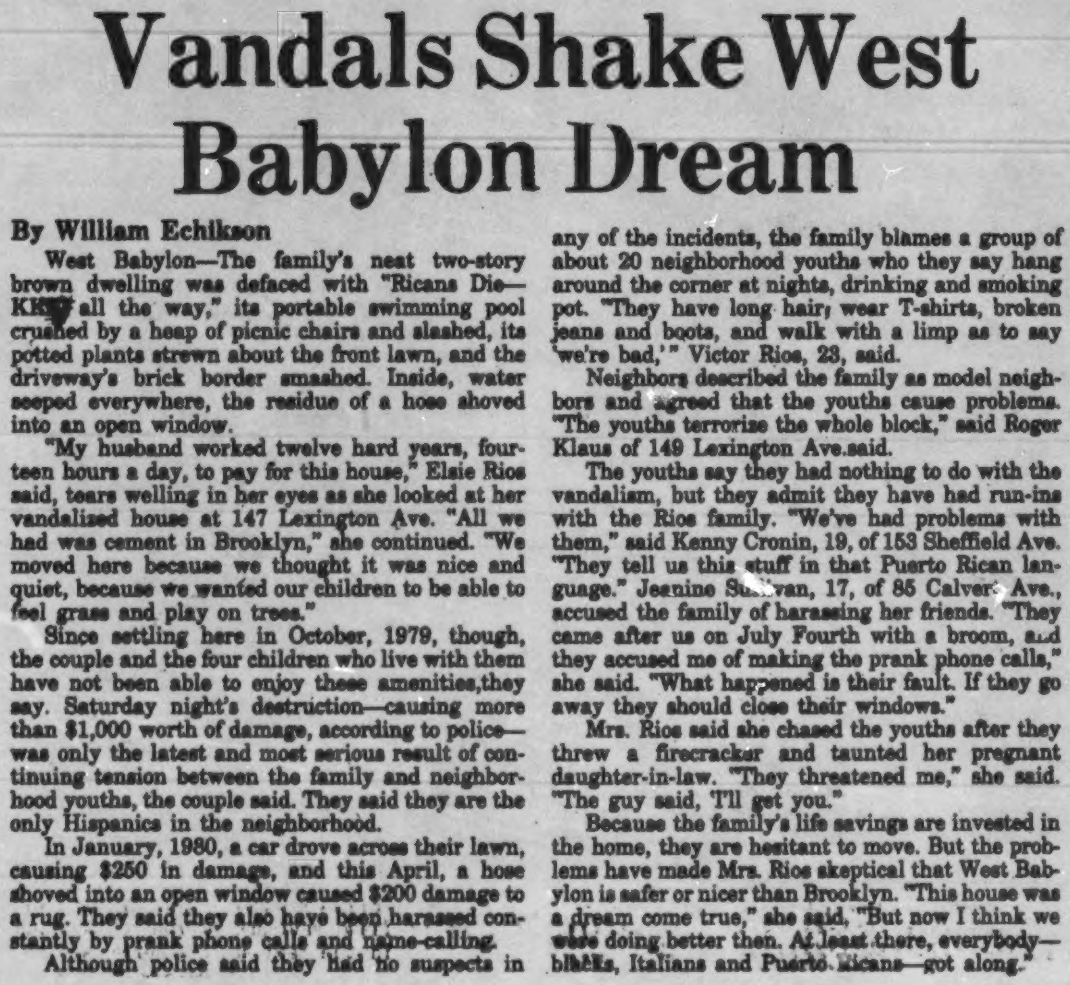
The first desecration of the Henry Kaufman Campgrounds in Wheatley Hights was reported last week by the camp program director of the Mid-Island YM-YWHA, one of seven Jewish groups that have camp space in the 400-acre-camp-site. Swastikas and anti-Semitic obscenities were found on the walls of the camp shelters, and on tables, volley ball poles, the bases of water fountains, and on the street. Esther Marks, the director, said youngsters were both frightened and shocked at the obscenities. "As they sat at the tables and saw these four-letter words used in anti-Semitic statements, they wanted to know why someone would say such bad things about Jews," she recalled. "They couldn't believe it. They kept asking, 'Who would write this?' "

Meanwhile, police arrested three youngsters who, for one month, had been plaguing a Dix Hills rabbi and his family with anti-Semitic phone calls. Two of the boys are 14 and the third is a 13-year-old Jewish boy who is scheduled to be Bar Mitzvah in a month. Two live on the same block as the victim and the third lives a block away.

The youngsters were caught about four days after police put a tap on the phone to trace the calls. The calls traced by police were made from each of the defendants' homes. The identity of the defendants was not released because of their ages. They have been released in their parents' custody pending Family Court action.

C.

Newsday
July 13, 1981



Vandals Shake West Babylon Dream

By William Echikson

West Babylon—The family's neat two-story brown dwelling was defaced with "Ricans Die—KKK all the way," its portable swimming pool crushed by a heap of picnic chairs and slashed, its potted plants strewn about the front lawn, and the driveway's brick border smashed. Inside, water seeped everywhere, the residue of a hose shoved into an open window.

"My husband worked twelve hard years, fourteen hours a day, to pay for this house," Elsie Rios said, tears welling in her eyes as she looked at her vandalized house at 147 Lexington Ave. "All we had was cement in Brooklyn," she continued. "We moved here because we thought it was nice and quiet, because we wanted our children to be able to feel grass and play on trees."

Since settling here in October, 1979, though, the couple and the four children who live with them have not been able to enjoy these amenities,they say. Saturday night's destruction—causing more than $1,000 worth of damage, according to police—was only the latest and most serious result of continuing tension between the family and neighborhood youths, the couple said. They said they are the only Hispanics in the neighborhood.

In January, 1980, a car drove across their lawn, causing $250 in damage, and this April, a hose shoved into an open window caused $200 damage to a rug. They said they also have been harassed constantly by prank phone calls and name-calling.

Although police said they had no suspects in any of the incidents, the family blames a group of about 20 neighborhood youths who they say hang around the corner at nights, drinking and smoking pot. "They have long hair, wear T-shirts, broken jeans and boots, and walk with a limp as to say 'we're bad,'" Victor Rios, 23, said.

Neighbors described the family as model neighbors and agreed that the youths cause problems. "The youths terrorize the whole block," said Roger Klaus of 149 Lexington Ave.said.

The youths say they had nothing to do with the vandalism, but they admit they have had run-ins with the Rios family. "We've had problems with them," said Kenny Cronin, 19, of 153 Sheffield Ave. "They tell us this stuff in that Puerto Rican language." Jeanine Sullivan, 17, of 85 Calvert Ave., accused the family of harassing her friends. "They came after us on July Fourth with a broom, and they accused me of making the prank phone calls," she said. "What happened is their fault. If they go away they should close their windows."

Mrs. Rios said she chased the youths after they threw a firecracker and taunted her pregnant daughter-in-law. "They threatened me," she said. "The guy said, 'I'll get you.'"

Because the family's life savings are invested in the home, they are hesitant to move. But the problems have made Mrs. Rios skeptical that West Babylon is safer or nicer than Brooklyn. "This house was a dream come true," she said, "But now I think we were doing better then. At least there, everybody—blacks, Italians and Puerto Ricans—got along."

Reading 3 For Topic VII

Going Along With Bigotry

Nina Hersh Gabelko and John U.
Michaelis, Reducing Adolescent
Prejudice (New York: Teachers College
Press, 1981), p.194.

Greg felt that no matter which choice he was about to make, he would lose. If he doesn't join the club, he would remain the "nobody" he is now. But this weekend, some members of The Southside Lords, the "best" club in the whole city, were going to paint a swastika on the door of a family who had recently moved into the neighborhood. The club president had told Greg that it was all in fun, and if Greg hoped ever to be one of them, he would have to prove his loyalty by going along with them. Greg wondered how he could pass by an opportunity to join a club that would make him the envy of every other kid in the neighborhood. He also knew that the members of The Southside Lords would tell everyone that he was a real jerk if he refused to join. But at the same time, he thought that some of the members do things that he finds to be wrong and hurtful. Should Greg join the club?

Reading 4 for Topic VII

Membership Form For The Klan Youth Corps

ANNOUNCING THE KLAN YOUTH CORPS

If you are a White student between the ages of 12 and 17, and idealistically oriented towards the struggle for the survival of White Christian civilization and values, then the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan invite you to become a part of the Klan Youth Corps.

* * * *

The Klan Youth Corps is dedicated to the principles of White majority rule in America and actively resists programs and materials in America's educational system which are designed to degrade and humiliate Western culture and which are neo-Marxist in nature.

* * * *

Membership in the Klan Youth Corps is $6.00 per year. Membership includes an attractive membership card, a subscription to the Crusader, and other materials that aid K.Y.C. members in recruiting their friends.

* * * *

"In unity, there is strength."
Klan Youth Corps motto

* * * *

- WHITE HERITAGE
- WHITE PRIDE
- WHITE UNITY
- WHITE POWER!

For more information write:

Local Address:

TOPIC VIII - THE HISTORY OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

Student Aim - How can its history help us to better understand the threat to democracy posed by the Ku Klux Klan?

Instructional Objectives

1. Students will learn that the Ku Klux Klan has been in existence for over one hundred years.
2. They will understand that the Klan was remarkably successful at certain periods in its history.
3. They will realize the necessity for people to be well informed about the bigotry and violence of hate groups so that the public will not provide the support these groups must have in order to survive.

Approach

1. Indicate to the class that there is one important reason for our concern about the Ku Klux Klan that we have not yet discussed: There have been times in the past when the Klan has had many members and has been able to cause great damage. We should learn more about the past history of the Klan so that we can be on our guard and see to it that it does not attain such power again.
2. Read the following to the class:

> It is now more than a century that a succession of organizations calling themselves Ku Klux Klans has sullied American political life.
>
> The common purpose of all the Klan groups that have appeared on the stage of American history since the end of the Civil War has been the "maintenance of the supremacy of the White Race" against black Americans. Over the years, Klan activity has also targeted Jews, Roman Catholics, immigrants, and other Americans of various foreign extractions. The promotion and dissemination of prejudice and bigotry based on race, religion, and national origins have characterized the Ku Klux Klans.

Bigotry has been the message of the Klans; violence, terrorism, and intimidation have been their methods. The instruments of Klan terrorism have been the gun, the torch, the bullwhip, and the rope. The Klan costume has been the hood, the mask, and the robe.

Since the end of the Civil War, there have been three distinct periods of Ku Klux Klan activity.

From an unpublished Anti-Defamation
League Report on the Ku Klux Klan.

3. Tell the class that we will be studying each of these three distinct periods of Klan activity.

Development

The First Klan

1. Distribute to the class Reading 1 for Topic VIII: The Constitution of the United States; Reading 2 for Topic VIII: The Role of the Ku Klux Klan In Reestablishing White Supremacy In The South; Reading 3 for Topic VIII: Kentucky Blacks Appeal For Protection - 1871; Reading 4 for Topic VIII: Report On The Ku Klux Klan By A Federal Grand Jury. Inform the class that these readings concern the First Klan which was in existence from December, 1865 to 1872.

2. Discuss the readings. Students can supplement the readings with facts about Reconstruction learned in their American history courses.

   The following points should be included in the discussion:

   - White southerners refused to accept the equality of blacks mandated by Congress in its Reconstruction policy. (The 14th Amendment provided all citizens equal protection under the law; the 15th Amendment forbade the states to deny citizens the vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.")

   - The Ku Klux Klan (a secret society deriving its name from the Greek word "kuklos" meaning "circle") was formed in Pulaski, Tenn. in Dec., 1865. Its goal was to intimidate black people into absolute submission, drive out the state governments installed under Reconstruction, and destroy every vestige of black political power in the South.

- The Klan suppressed the black population thru hangings, shootings, torturings, whippings, and mutilations.

- "Grand Wizard," General Nathan B. Forrest, estimated in 1869 that there were 550,000 Klan members.

- The Klan disappeared with the reestablishment of white supremacy throughout the South. It had played a major role in achieving that end. (For an additional reading on the system of white supremacy in the South see Topic III - The Myth of White Supremacy: Reading 3).

- The effective propaganda of the white supremacists was one of the reasons the northern states lost interest in defending the rights of the black citizens of the South.

- By 1900 an effective system of segregation had been installed in the southern states. Blacks were denied the right to vote, there were two separate sets of hotels, restaurants, theatres, parks, water fountains, restrooms, and schools for blacks and for whites.

- In the north although there was no official segregation of the races, widespread discrimination was practiced against blacks.

- A legend grew up that the First Klan had "saved the South." Tell the class about The Clansman, a 1905 novel by a North Carolina minister, Thomas Dixon, which glorified the Klan, and the movie based on the novel, The Birth of a Nation, directed in 1915 by D.W. Griffith. The movie was distributed widely throughout the United States and had a profound effect on American public opinion. (For further information on The Birth of a Nation, see the opening paragraph of Reading 5 for Topic VIII).

The Second Klan

3. Distribute to the class Reading 5 for Topic VIII: The Ku Klux Klan In The 1920's; Reading 6 for Topic VIII: A 1923 Klan Newspaper; Reading 7 for Topic VIII: Some Examples of Klan Violence and Intimidation In the 1920's; Reading 8 for Topic VIII: William Allen White's Criticism of the Ku Klux Klan. Inform the class that these readings concern the Second Klan which was formed in 1915 and "officially" dissolved itself in 1944. However, its period of tremendous power and growth was in the 1920's.

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4. Discuss the readings. Students can supplement the readings with facts about the 1920's learned in their American history courses. The following points should be included in the discussion:

   - In the 1920's the Klan expanded its operations to the North and was very successful in a number of northern states.

   - At its peak in 1925 Klan membership was between 4 and 5 million. Unlike the First Klan which was anti-black, the Second Klan was also anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, and anti-foreigner. The philosophy of the Klan, as developed by the Second Klan, remains today the basic Klan philosophy, with the one difference that anti-Catholicism, a very basic ingredient of Second Klan bigotry, is no longer a dominant element in the Klan today.

   - Klan violence took the form of killings, bombings, tar-and-featherings, kidnappings, boycotts and threats.

   - The Klan's emphasis on "Americanism," strict morality, and firm religious belief masked its bigoted philosophy and helped to attract many to its ranks.

   - The Klan was very successful in having its members elected to public office.

   - The William Allen White letter was written in 1921. Why is it still relevant today?

   - The Second Klan died because public opinion would no longer support its violence and bigotry.

   - Make the point that hate groups can only be effective in an area if there are people in that area who support its actions and philosophy. This is why it is important for Americans to recognise the bigotry of the hate groups and emphatically reject their racist, anti-Semitic appeal.

The Third Klan

5. Tell the class that the present Ku Klux Klan is considered The Third Klan. It got its start after WW II, and reached its high point in the 1960's with a membership of 55,000 in 1967.

   The First Klan had used violence and intimidation to reverse the granting of equality to blacks after the Civil War, and had succeeded.

The Third Klan used violence and intimidation in an attempt to reverse the granting of equal rights to blacks in the years of the Civil Rights struggle.

6. Distribute to the class Reading 9 for Topic VIII: The Struggle For Civil Rights; Reading 10 for Topic VIII: Civil Rights Documents; and Reading 11 for Topic VIII: The Ku Klux Klan Attempts to Negate The Civil Rights Advances.

7. Discuss the readings. Students can supplement the readings with facts about the Civil Rights Era learned in their American history courses. The following points should be included in the discussion.

    - The Klan resorted to terrible acts of murder and terrorism in an effort to maintain white supremacy.

    - They were not successful because public opinion in the United States strongly supported the granting of civil rights to blacks.

    - Strict enforcement of the law resulted in the prosecution of Klan murderers. The Klan could not get away with violence as it had been able to do one hundred years earlier.

8. Review the statistics on present Klan membership.

    - About ten thousand. This is not a large amount. However, we have seen how the Klan could grow to a membership of almost five million in the 1920's. We must always be on our guard against the Klan and its bigoted philosphy.

Summary-Application

Ask the class to discuss the proposition: When conditions are ripe, extremist groups will flourish.

Follow-Up Activities

1. View the film Ku Klux Klan: The Invisible Empire - 45 minutes/ black and white.

    This CBS REPORTS film reveals the hooded nightriders as an ever-increasing menace. The film traces the history of the Klan and its resurgence at every point where strides have been made in civil rights. Has the first filmed sequences of an actual Klan meeting. There is also footage of a Klan rally and cross-burning held in Ohio.

Reporters interview Klansmen who exemplify the bigoted savagery of this organization.

Available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

2. If not seen earlier, view the filmstrip on the Klan described in the suggested follow-up activities at the close of Topic VI.

Readings for Topic VIII

The First Klan

1. The Constitution of the United States - Articles XIV and XV.

2. The Role of the Ku Klux Klan In Reestablishing White Supremacy In The South.

   A. Adapted from John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956).

   B. Samuel Eliot Morison, The Oxford History of the American People (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965).

   C. From an unpublished Anti-Defamation League Report on the Ku Klux Klan.

3. Kentucky Blacks Appeal for Protection - National Archives Record Group 46, Records of the U.S. Senate, Memorial...April 11, 1871 (42 Congress).

4. Report on the Ku Klux Klan by a Federal Grand Jury In South Carolina - 42 Congress, 2nd Session, House Report No. 22, Pt. 1.

The Second Klan

5. The Ku Klux Klan In The 1920's.

   A. Kenneth J. Jackson, The Ku Klux Klan In The City 1915-1930 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

   B. From an unpublished Anti-Defamation League Report on the Ku Klux Klan.

6. A 1923 Klan Newspaper.

7. Some Examples of Klan Violence and Intimidation In The 1920's - David M. Chalmers, Hooded Americanism (New York: Franklin Watts, Inc., 1981).

8. William Allen White's Criticism of the Ku Klux Klan - Walter Johnson, ed., Selected Letters of William Allen White 1899-1943, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1947).

The Third Klan

9. The Struggle For Civil Rights - John A. Garraty, The American Nation, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

10. Civil Rights Documents.

    A. Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka - 1954

    B. Civil Rights Act of 1964

    C. Voting Rights Act of 1965

11. The Ku Klux Klan Attempts To Negate The Civil Rights Advances - From an unpublished Anti-Defamation League Report on the Ku Klux Klan.

Reading 1 for Topic VIII

The Constitution Of The United States

ARTICLE XIV

Passed by Congress June 16, 1866. Ratified July 23, 1868.

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

ARTICLE XV

Passed by Congress February 27, 1869. Ratified March 30, 1870.

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Reading 2 For Topic VIII

A.

The Role of The Ku Klux Klan In Reestablishing White Supremacy In The South

Adapted from John Hope Franklin,
From Slavery To Freedom, (New York:
Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), pp. 322-323,
328-338.

After the Civil War, guerrilla war was carried on against blacks and whites who represented the federal government in the South. Scores of terrorist organizations sprung up all over the South whose purpose was to "keep the Negro in his place." One of these organizations, and the most powerful along with the Knights of the White Camelia, was the Ku Klux Klan. Its purposes simply were to terrorize blacks, to prevent them from voting and from holding office and to establish "White Supremacy." Klan members were sworn to secrecy. Armed with guns and other weapons, they patrolled day and night. They burnt homes and crops, whipped, maimed and lynched blacks. Blacks were threatened about voting. In 1871 several black officials in South Carolina were given fifteen days to resign on threat of death.

And so, the results of the Civil War were undone by 1877. What was not done by force was completed by state laws or by practices that were illegal. Voting sites were placed far from black communities or changed without notice. Ballot boxes would be stuffed with the approval of election officials. The state legislatures set up poll tax requirements and other regulations that discouraged or prevented blacks from voting.

In later years, literacy tests and property requirements effectively prevented most blacks from voting. The "grandfather clause" adopted by Louisiana also served to disqualify blacks. (This provided that only those could vote whose fathers or grandfathers were qualified voters in 1867).The disfranchisement of blacks was widely acclaimed in the South as a constructive act of statesmanship. Blacks were viewed as aliens, ignorant, incompetent and racially inferior.

After voting rights were taken away, the next step was the passage of "Jim Crow" laws which segregated blacks. By 1885 most Southern states had laws requiring separate schools. Toward the end of the century blacks were banned from white hotels, barber shops, restaurants, theatres. With the adoption of new constitutions the states established the most stringent segregation of the races and in 1896 the Supreme Court upheld segregation in its "separate but equal," doctrine set forth in Plessy v. Ferguson.

The new century opened tragically with 214 lynchings in the first two years. The law, the courts, the schools, and almost every institution in the South favored the white man. This was White Supremacy.

B.

Samuel Eliot Morison, The Oxford History of the American People, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 723-724.

Although apologists for the South decry the crimes of the KKK (163 Negroes murdered in one Florida county in 1871, 300 murdered in a few parishes outside New Orleans), they were led by "the flower of Southern manhood," who cannot escape responsibility for acts in the same class with those of Hitler's storm troopers. The "Grand Wizard" of the KKK was General Nathaniel B. Forrest CSA; General Gordon was "Grand Dragon" for Georgia, and former Governor Vance had the same "exalted" rank in North Carolina. The Klan was formally disbanded in 1869 and the Knights the following year; but under one or another guise the intimidation of Negroes went on.

The Radical answer was renewed military occupation of districts formerly evacuated, and a new crop of supervisory acts of Congress authorizing the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and suppress disturbances by military force. Some 7400 indictments were found under these acts, but there were relatively few convictions, and only once did President Grant find it expedient to re-establish military rule on a large scale. And he withdrew all Negro units of the regular army.

Grant was re-elected in 1872, but two years later the Democrats captured the House of Representatives, marking Northern repudiation of Radicalism. In the meantime all Southern states had been "readmitted" to representation in Congress, and by the Amnesty Act of 1872 all white men still disfranchised were restored to full political privilege. An immense impact on Northern opinion was exerted through The Prostrate State (1873) by a former abolitionist, James S. Pike of Maine. This Uncle Tom's Cabin in reverse, an exaggerated description of conditions in South Carolina, has become a classic document of the reconstruction stereotype. During the centennial celebrations of 1875-76 Southern orators like Henry W. Grady and Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar played on the "mystic chords of memory" to which Lincoln had vainly appealed in 1861, and paid moving tributes to the Great Emanicipator himself. In this sentimental meeting of hearts the cause of the freedman was forgotten; and whatever solicitude for him survived in the North was conveniently overlaid by the picture of the "happy darkey" presented by Joel Chandler Harris the creator of Uncle Remus, and Thomas Nelson Page the creator of "Marse Chan's" Sam. In Congress, Ben Butler proposed an amendment to a civil rights bill in 1875 which would have compelled racial integration of all schools in the South, but President Grant had the amendment stricken out on a plea from Barnas Sears, Yankee almoner of the Peabody fund.

By this time the Radicals were in full retreat in the South. Factional struggles between carpetbaggers and scalawags split the Republican party; and the Negroes, finding that their vote produced no "forty acres and a mule, began to desert the Republicans and vote for members of the old master class in whom they had confidence. It was becoming evident that Radical rule could only be maintained by a much stronger army of occupation, but Congress was becoming so tired of reconstruction that the garrisons were progressively weakened. In state after state the white people organized as "Conservatives" or "Redeemers," and recaptured control of the political machinery. This occurred between 1869 and 1871 in Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia; in 1874-75 in Alabama, Arkansas, Texas, and Mississippi [in 1877 in South Carolina and Louisiana].

C.

From an unpublished Anti-Defamation
League Report on the Ku Klux Klan

In 1871, a joint Congressional Committee conducted an extensive investigation of Klan violence. The commanding general of federal troops in Texas reported: "Murders of Negroes are so common as to render it impossible to keep accurate accounts of them."

Testimony revealed that at least 2,000 had been killed, wounded, or injured in Louisiana in a few weeks preceding the Presidential election of 1868. Seventy-five killings were reported in Georgia, and 109 in Alabama. In a single county in Northern Florida during a period of a few months, more than 150 men had been murdered by Klansmen, at a rate of more than one killing a day.

Killings and floggings of both blacks and whites, the burning of schools and churches, and the hounding of individuals from their towns and communities were among the outrages recorded in the twelve printed volumes of hearings held by the Joint Congressional Committee. The majority report issued on February 19, 1872, described the Klan as "a fearful conspiracy against Society, committing atrocities and crimes that richly deserve punishment."

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Reading 3 For Topic VIII

Kentucky Blacks Appeal For Protection

National Archives, Record Group 46.
Records of the U.S. Senate,
Memorial... April 11, 1871 (42
Congress).

To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

We the colored citizens of Frankfort and vicinity do this day memorialize your honorable bodies upon the condition of affairs now existing in this the state of Kentucky.

We would respectfully state that life, liberty, and property are unprotected among the colored race of this state. Organized bands of desperate and lawless men, mainly composed of soldiers of the late Rebel armies, armed, disciplined, and disguised, and bound by oath and secret obligations, have by force, terror, and violence subverted all civil society among colored people, thus utterly rendering insecure the safety of persons and property, overthrowing all those rights which are the primary basis and objects of the government which are expressly guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the United States as amended.

We believe you are not familiar with the description of the Ku Klux Klan's riding nightly over the country, going from county to county, and in the county towns spreading terror wherever they go by robbing, whipping, ravishing, and killing our people without provocation, compelling colored people to break the ice and bathe in the chilly waters of the Kentucky River.

The legislature has adjourned; they refused to enact any laws to suppress Ku Klux disorder. We regard them as now being licensed to continue their dark and bloody deeds under cover of the dark night. They refuse to allow us to testify in the state courts where a white man is concerned. We find their deeds are perpetrated only upon colored men and white Republicans. We also find that for our services to the government and our race we have become the special object of hatred and persecution at the hands of the Democratic Party.

Our people are driven from their homes in great numbers, having no redress, only the U.S. courts, which is in many cases unable to reach them. We would state that we have been law-abiding citizens, pay our tax, and in many parts of the state, our people have been driven from the polls - refused the right to vote. Many have been slaughtered while attempting to vote; we ask how long is this state of things to last.

We appeal to you as law-abiding citizens to enact some laws that will protect us and that will enable us to exercise the rights of citizens. We see that the senator from this state denies there being organized bands of desperadoes in the state; for information we lay before you a number of violent acts [that] occurred during his administration. Although he, Stevenson, says a half-dozen instances of violence did occur, these are not more than one-half the acts that have occurred.

The Democratic Party has here a political organization composed only of Democrats, not a single Republican can join them. Where many of these acts have been committed, it has been proven that they were the men, done with arms from the state arsenal. We pray you will take some steps to remedy these evils.

Done by a committee of grievances appointed at a meeting of all the colored citizens of Frankfort and vicinity.

Reading 4 For Topic VIII

Report on The Ku Klux Klan By A Federal Grand Jury In South Carolina

42 Congress, 2nd Session, House
Report, No. 22, Pt. 1, pp. 48-49.

In closing the labors of the present term, the grand jury begs leave to submit the following presentment.

During the whole session we have been engaged in investigations of the most grave and extraordinary character - investigations of the crimes committed by the organization known as the Ku Klux Klan. The evidence elicited has been voluminous, gathered from the victims themselves and their families, as well as those who belong to the Klan and participated in its crimes. The jury has been shocked beyond measure at the developments which have been made in their presence of the number and character of the atrocities committed, producing a state of terror and a sense of utter insecurity among a large portion of the people, especially the colored population. The evidence produced before us has established the following facts:

1. That there has existed since 1868, in many counties of the state, an organization known as the "Ku Klux Klan," or "Invisible Empire of the South," which embraces in its membership a large proportion of the white population of every profession and class.

2. That this Klan [is] bound together by an oath, administered to its members at the time of their initiation into the order, of which the following is a copy:

OBLIGATION

I (name) before the immaculate Jude of Heaven and earth, and upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, do, of my own free will and accord, subscribe to the following sacredly binding obligation:

1. We are on the side of justice, humanity, and constitutional liberty, as bequeathed to us in its purity by our forefathers.
2. We oppose and reject the principles of the Radical Party.
3. We pledge mutual aid to each other in sickness, distress, and pecuniary embarrassment.
4. Female friends, widows, and their households shall ever be special objects of our regard and protection.

Any member divulging, or causing to be divulged, any of the foregoing obligations, shall meet the foregoing penalty and traitor's doom, which is Death! Death! Death!

That, in addition to this oath, the Klan has a constitution and by-laws, which provides, among other things, that each member shall furnish himself with a pistol, a Ku Klux gown, and a signal instrument. That the operations of the Klan were executed in the night, and were invariably directed against members of the Republican Party by warnings to leave the country, by whippings, and by murder.

3. That in large portions of the counties of York, Union, and Spartanburgh, to which our attention has been more particularly called in our investigations during part of the time for the last eighteen months, the civil law has been set at defiance and ceased to afford any protection to the citizens.

4. That the Klan, in carrying out the purposes for which it was organized and armed, inflicted summary vengeance on the colored citizens of these counties by breaking into their houses at the dead of night, dragging them from their beds, torturing them in the most inhuman manner, and in many instances murdering them; and this, mainly on account of their political affiliations. Occasionally, additional reasons operated, but in no instance was the political feature wanting.

5. That for this condition of things, for all these violations of law and order and the sacred rights of citizens, many of the leading men of those countries were responsible. It was proven that large numbers of the most prominent citizens were members of the order. Many of this class attended meetings of the Grand Klan. At a meeting of the Grand Klan held in Spartanburgh County, at which there were representatives from the various dens of Spartanburgh, York, Union, and Chester counties, in this state, besides a number from North Carolina, a resolution was adopted that no raids should be undertaken or anyone whipped or injured by members of the Klan without orders from the Grand Klan. The penalty for violating this resolution was 100 lashes on the bare back for the first offense; and for the second, death.

This testimony establishes the nature of the discipline enforced in the order, and also the fact that many of the men who were openly and publicly speaking against the Klan, and pretending to deplore the work of this murderous conspiracy, were influential members of the order and directing its operations, even in detail.

The jury has been appalled as much at the number of outrages as at their character, it appearing that 11 murders and over 600 whippings have been committed in York County alone. Our investigation in regard to the other counties named has been less full; but it is believed, from the testimony, that an equal or greater number has been committed in Union, and that the number is not greatly less in Spartanburgh and Laurens.

We are of the opinion that the most vigorous prosecution of the parties implicated in these crimes is imperatively demanded; that without this there is great danger that these outrages will be continued, and that there will be no security to our fellow citizens of African descent.

We would say further that unless the strong arm of the government is interposed to punish these crimes committed upon this class of citizens, there is every reason to believe that an organized and determined attempt at retaliation will be made, which can only result in a state of anarchy and bloodshed too horrible to contemplate.

Reading 5 For Topic VIII

The Ku Klux Klan In The 1920's

A.

Kenneth J. Jackson, The Ku Klux Klan
in the City 1915-1930 (New York:
Oxford University Press, 1967)
pp. 3,4,18-23.

On March 3, 1915, the first full-length motion picture in American history was released for exhibition. Directed by David Wark Griffith and based upon a novel of the Civil War and Reconstruction by Thomas Dixon, The Birth of a Nation depicted the Lost Cause as a hallowed one. It related the story of a vanquished South, rescued at the last moment from the tentacles of scalawags, carpetbaggers, drunken Union soldiers, and unprincipled freedmen by the hard-riding horsemen of the Ku Klux Klan. A technical masterpiece that was often factually inaccurate, The Birth of a Nation was ultimately viewed by more than fifty million people and had a vast influence in the shaping of popular misconceptions about the critical Reconstruction period of American history. In 1922, Walter Lippmann ventured the opinion that "no one who has seen the film, and does not know more about the Ku Klux Klan than Griffith does, will ever hear the name again without seeing those white horsemen...."

Less than a fortnight before the opening of The Birth of a Nation in Atlanta, [on December 6, 1915] a strange spectacle took place a short distance from the city on the imposing granite crest of Stone Mountain. Led by William Joseph Simmons, a tall, clean-shaven, two-hundred-pound fraternal organizer who was to persuade theater manager Bill Sharpe to grant him a free admission to see The Birth of a Nation time and again, sixteen men ascended a rocky trail to found a memorial organization to the Klansmen who had performed so gallantly in defense of white supremacy two generations earlier. A cool Thanksgiving breeze whipped an American flag, while a crude burning cross illuminated the Bible, carefully opened to the twelfth chapter of Romans. Against this backdrop the small group swore allegiance to the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. One week later they received a preliminary charter from the state of Georgia....

[Imperial Wizard Hiram W. Evans who succeeded Simmons in 1923] informed the nation that, far from being an un-American hate-mongering institution, the Klan was in reality a benevolent and patriotic society. Emphasis was therefore placed on the positive elements of klan-kraft (concepts and relationships): education, temperance, the flag, Protestanism, morality, and charity.

Although there was no formal connection between the Invisible Empire and any religious denomination, Fundamentalism was the central thread of the Klan program. Declaring that "America is Protestant and so it must remain," the KKK glorified the "old time religion," rejected evolution and higher criticism, and admonished its members to attend church regularly. Protestant clergymen were reminded that Klansmen accepted the Bible as the literal and unalterable word of God. As proof of their devotion, masked Knights frequently appeared unannounced before quiescent congregations for the purpose of making a well-publicized donation.

An almost natural corollary to the Klan's religious orientation was its effort to become a bulwark against "modernism." The wearing of short skirts by women and the "petting" in parked automobiles and dancing in smoke-filled rooms by both sexes were indications of an erosion of traditional customs and values. At the root of the problem was "Demon Rum." The Eighteenth Amendment had supposedly banished liquor from the United States forever; in actual practice the Volstead law lacked adequate enforcement provisions, and many Americans proved quite unwilling to accept abstinence. The illicit manufacture and sale of intoxicants assumed immense proportions, and, according to temperance organizations, brought along such attendant vices as gambling and prostitution. The Invisible Empire unhesitatingly affirmed that it stood four-square for law enforcement and against bootleggers, moonshiners, and "wild women."

The Klan's campaign against moral laxity earned for it the allegiance and support of many women. The ladies auxiliaries in such cities as Denver, Portland, Indianapolis, and Dallas were indispensable elements in hooded political success, while thousands of additional women offered "one hundred per cent Americanism" their silent endorsement. Klan lecturers often dwelt upon the virtues of motherhood, chastity, and temperance and emphasized the importance of "clean motion pictures and decent literature." Offering to protect the "purity of womanhood," the Invisible Empire promised to see to it that "the young man who induces a young girl to get drunk is held accountable...."

The third basic element of the Klan's positive program was "practical patriotism" or Americanism. Obsessed with the external displays of national pride, the secret order was always alert for evidence of disloyalty. Among its most frequent activities were presentations of American flags to schools, churches, and private institutions. Moreover, the Klan reflected traditional isolationist sentiment against one-worldism. It fought the League of Nations and the World Court and argued that "American questions should be settled in America by Americans...."

But Protestantism, motherhood, morality, patriotism, education, and other positive attitudes did not represent the sum total of the Klan program. There was another, and more seamy, side to "one hundred per cent Americanism." Officially, the Invisible Empire denied all hates, but by its definition of membership it appealed to citizens who cherished them. Nativism and racial consciousness have had a long tradition in the United States; the Ku Klux Klan merely awakened smoldering prejudices by capitalizing upon white Protestant fear of Catholicism, Judaism, and racial amalgamation.

Among Klansmen in almost every state and section, the most basic and pervasive concern was the Pope. Catholics were regarded not simply as communicants of an idolatrous church, but as citizens who placed their love and devotion to the Vatican above their allegiance to the United States. It was widely held that the Pope was a political autocrat with a ravenous desire to extend his temporal as well as spiritual influence across the Atlantic. Klan orators spoke of a not far distant Romanist uprising, and the "confessions" of Helen Jackson, an "escaped nun," were often distributed at Klan rallies. Wild rumors told of Protestant girls being held captive in convents, of Catholics gaining control of the strategic heights surrounding Washington, and of Knights of Columbus drilling at night and storing arms in the churches. Nor were those the only reasons that Catholic patriotism was suspect; were they not responsible for all three presidential assassinations and for 90 per cent of the desertions in World War I? Skeptics were warned that Catholics could be manipulated by priests and reminded of traditional Papal interference in the political affairs of Europe. According to the Klan, Catholics were fanatics, who, if given the chance, "would again forge a tyrant's chain, revive the Inquisition, and fire the faggots around the martyr's stake as they were in the habit of doing in times gone by."

Thus was the Catholic Church painted as the deadly enemy of free institutions, to be opposed not so much for her religious beliefs as for her dark and deadly political machinations. According to Imperial Wizard Evans, "The real objection to Romanism in America is not that it is a religion - which is no objection at all - but that it is a church in politics; an organized, disciplined, powerful rival to every political government." Invariably, the Invisible Empire opposed all Catholic candidates for political office. While Klansmen would not assert that an individual's membership in the Roman Church would make him less efficient as a councilman or congressman, there was always the argument that the election of every additional Catholic hastened the day of the Papal takeover. Men who accepted ecclesiastical authority were held to be poor guardians of democratic government and individual liberties. Insisting upon the impossibility of being both a good Catholic and a good citizen, the Klan labeled the Roman Church "fundamentally and irredeemably, in its leadership, in politics, in thought, and largely in membership, actually and actively alien, un-American, and usually anti-American." The most vicious invective was reserved for the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), which the Kourier [Klan newspaper] labeled as "the deepest, darkest, and most damnable association of political and religious pirates which the world has ever seen."

Jews were less numerous, and therefore less threatening, than Catholics, but they also failed to pass the test of "one hundred per cent Americanism." The Jewish people were criticized for their racial and religious cohesiveness, and their business leaders were blamed for unfair competition. The Semite was characterized as a parasitic shop keeper rather than "a pioneer, an empire builder, a maker of nations." Most importantly, he was an internationalist, who, according to the Klan, would not in a thousand years form basic attachments comparable to those the older type of immigrant would form within a year.

Closely related to anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism was the Klan's crusade for the restriction of immigration. After 1890, hundreds of thousands of Italians, Poles, Russians, Czechs, Slavs and Serbs answered the Statue of Liberty's invitation to "huddled masses, yearning to breathe free." But these newcomers were quite unlike the northern and western Europeans who had earlier populated the continent. Overwhelmingly Catholic and Jewish, they were often penniless when they reached Ellis Island. Moreover, they congregated in big-city ghettoes, supported urban bosses, clung to Old World traditions, established scores of foreign language newspapers, and sympathized with "radical labor agitators." The Klan cited World War I Army intelligence tests to "prove" that Italians, Slavs, and Greeks were mentally inferior to Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians and, because of their autocratic heritage, incapable of self-government and unworthy of American citizenship. Referring to aliens as "the most dangerous of all invaders," the Klan predictably labeled the melting pot a "mess of sentimental pottage" and a "silly and deadly philosophy."

The Negro was less threatening but no more acceptable to "one hundred per cent Americanism" than the undisciplined and unchastened immigrant. "Every instinct, every interest, every dictate of conscience and public spirit, insist that white supremacy shall be forever maintained." Thus did Hiram Wesley Evans state the unequivocal position of the Ku Klux Klan with respect to the place of the colored man in American life. Justifying this attitude in terms of the survival of the fittest, the secret order boasted that "each race must fight for its life, must conquer, accept slavery or die." Such evolutionary doctrine would seemingly have run counter to the Fundamentalist beliefs of many Klansmen, but Darwin was apparently orthodox when presented in terms of racial superiority. The KKK regarded the Negro as a mental pygmy, unable and unwilling to perform any but the most menial tasks, and ever anxious to prey upon the purity of white women. As expressed by Klan lecturer R. H. Sawyer, "The Negro, in whose blood flows the mad desire for race amalgamation, is more dangerous than a maddened wild beast and he must and will be controlled." Immediately after World War I, the impression was common among white people, both North and South, that a "new Negro," anxious for social and economic equality, was coming home from France. The widespread uneasiness was reflected in savage race riots in Chicago and Tulsa and in a rapid rise in the number of lynchings in 1919. In most cases, the fears were unfounded and the Negro accepted his former station. But in cities with rapidly growing non-white populations racial feeling was intensified during the 1920's.

It was upon this aggregate of positive and negative issues that the American people were invited to membership in the Ku Klux Klan. Anti-Catholicism was almost everywhere the basic issue, but the Kleagles were adapt at adjusting prejudices to suit local requirements. Their tactics were successful, and at torchlit ceremonies throughout the country, hundreds and sometimes thousands of over-eager patriots took the solemn oaths of allegiance to the Invisible Empire. The initiation consisted of forming a single file, walking from one ceremonial station to another, listening to verbose passages, and swearing an oath. With the right arm raised, and kneeling on one knee, new members swore never to betray a fellow Klansman, save in instances of treason, rape, malicious murder, and violation of the

Klan oath, and promised to uphold free speech, free press, separation of church and state, just laws, and the Constitution. The entire ritual was carefully worded to exclude all aliens....

On the surface, the Ku Klux Klan posed a challenge only to Catholics, Jews, Negroes, and recent immigrants. In a broader sense, however, "one hundred per cent Americanism" challenged all citizens because it questioned the ideals of the entire nation. The United States had achieved much by 1920: highly industrialized, prosperous, and stable, it was a symbol everywhere of religious and political freedom and of the Lockean ideal of equality before the state. The Ku Klux Klan challenged these priciples and announced a membership goal of ten million white Protestants, who would accept the notion that certain religions and races and ethnic groups were "more equal" than others. The question was basic, and the answer of the American people was long in coming.

B.

From an unpublished Anti-Defamation
League Report on the Ku Klux Klan

The Klan reached the height of its power in the United States during 1924 and 1925, when its influence extended from coast to coast. No longer was the Klan a regional organization confined to the South; it had become a national phenomenon. In New Jersey, there was a Klan organization in every county. In Indiana there was a virtual KKK dictatorship over state politics under the leadership of state Grand Dragon D.C. Stephenson. The Klan held strong power in Colorado, Oregon, Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Maine, and Kansas.

Even on New York's Long Island, crosses were burned and Klan rallies were held.

The Klan was a major issue at the 1924 Democratic Convention in New York City, and in 1925, 40,000 robed Klansmen paraded down Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue in a show of strength. At the peak of its power in 1925, the KKK's membership was -- according to most estimates -- between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000. It is noteworthy that historians agree Klan membership at that time in certain Northern states--for example, Indiana and Ohio -- was larger than in any single state south of the Mason-Dixon line.

Activities of the Klan varied from state to state and within different counties of the same state. Murders committed by the Klan were reported in some areas during the early 1920s, while in other areas the Klan's public image was confined to ceremonial parades and rallies marked by intense political oratory and by the characteristic burning of a wooden cross. Dynamitings and bombings were also reported. The most common form of violence attributed to the Second Klan, however, was the kidnapping of persons who were flogged and sometimes tarred-and-feathered for alleged transgressions of Klan strictures. Victims included blacks attempting to register other blacks to vote, but many of those singled out for punishment were white Protestant men and women viewed by the Klan as guilty of violating "moral law." Repeated incidents were cited of such persons being flogged because of alleged gambling, liquor dealing, dope peddling, or marital infidelity.

Among the less violent forms of intimidation practiced by the Klan were boycotts of businesses owned by Catholics and Jews, as well as campaigns to oust Roman Catholic teachers from the public schools, and Catholics and Jews from elective office. Meanwhile, Klansmen in droves were entering politics and achieving appointed political positions of power. Klansmen served as local sheriffs, as members of police departments, as judges, and as state legislators. Klansmen allegedly served as governors in three states and as attorney general in one state, and reportedly won seats in the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives before the Klan began to decline in the second half of the 1920s.

The publicity given to the venality and immorality of certain Klan leaders during 1926 triggered a sharp decline in Klan membership. By the end of the year, the membership reportedly had dropped to slightly more than 2,000,000.

One year later, the decline was even more dramatic and membership slumped even further--to 321,000.

Even in decline, however, the Klan sought to use its influence. In 1928, when Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, a Roman Catholic, was the leading candidate to become the Democratic Presidential standard-bearer, the Klan formed part of a nationwide anti-Catholic campaign aimed at preventing Smith's nomination. Later, when he emerged as the Democratic Presidential candidate, the Klan fought his election. The Kourier Magazine, headquartered in Atlanta, devoted the bulk of its columns to denunciation of the Catholic Church; "the Hebrew Menace" was a secondary theme. The Ku Klux Klan periodical in Birmingham, The American Standard, formed part of the anti-Smith campaign, which depicted Smith as a puppet of the Vatican.

Participation in the 1928 anti-Catholic campaign directed at Governor Smith was, essentially, the last stand of the Second Klan. The defeat of Smith in the election of 1928 did nothing to revitalize the fading Invisible Empire. The decline in membership continued--to 83,000 in 1929 and to 35,000 in 1930.

Just before World War II membership in the Klan had dwindled to less than 10,000 members. The patriotic and anti-Nazi climate of the time was not conducive to Klan growth.

The Second Klan "officially" dissolved itself on April 25, 1944.

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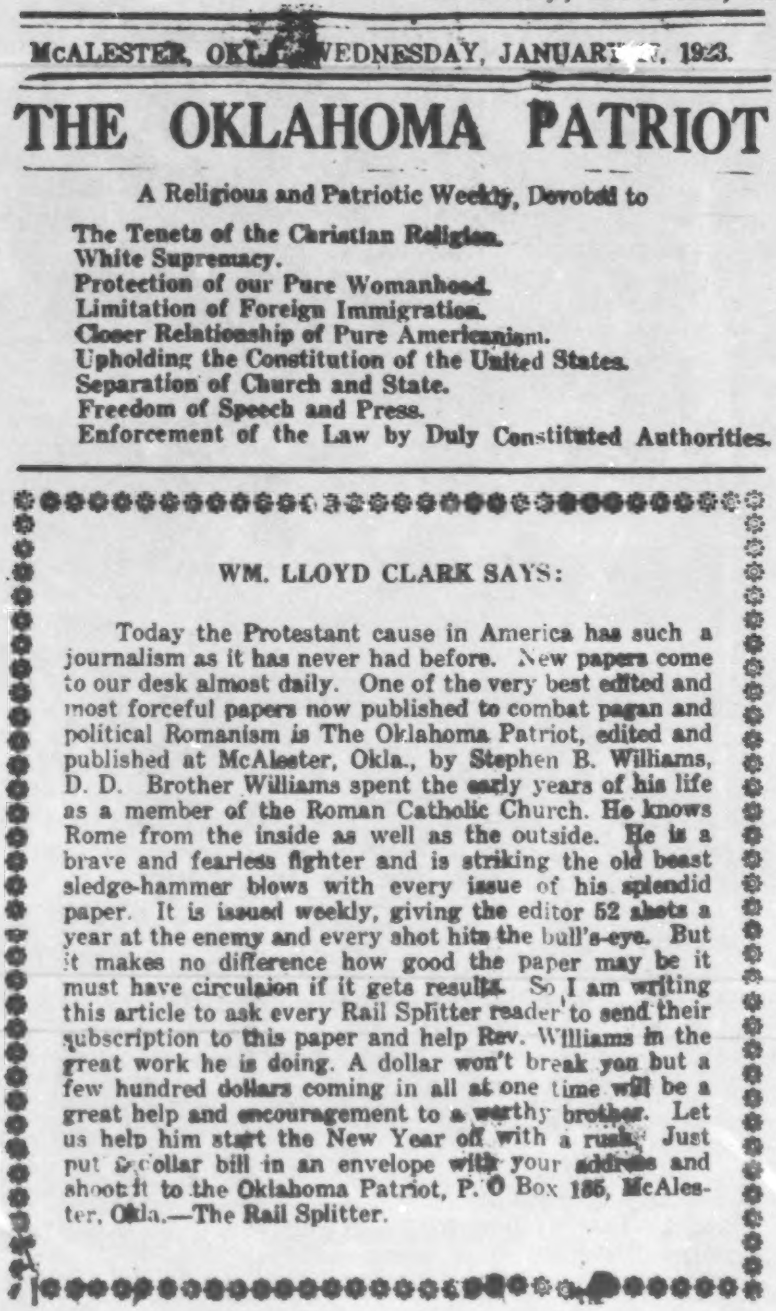
Reading 6 For Topic VIII

A 1923 Klan Newspaper

From the files of Professor
Barry Mickey, Delta State
University, Cleveland, Mississippi



McALESTER, OKL[illegible] WEDNESDAY, JANUARY [illegible], 1923.

THE OKLAHOMA PATRIOT

A Religious and Patriotic Weekly, Devoted to

The Tenets of the Christian Religion.
White Supremacy.
Protection of our Pure Womanhood.
Limitation of Foreign Immigration.
Closer Relationship of Pure Americanism.
Upholding the Constitution of the United States.
Separation of Church and State.
Freedom of Speech and Press.
Enforcement of the Law by Duly Constituted Authorities.

WM. LLOYD CLARK SAYS:

Today the Protestant cause in America has such a journalism as it has never had before. New papers come to our desk almost daily. One of the very best edited and most forceful papers now published to combat pagan and political Romanism is The Oklahoma Patriot, edited and published at McAlester, Okla., by Stephen B. Williams, D. D. Brother Williams spent the early years of his life as a member of the Roman Catholic Church. He knows Rome from the inside as well as the outside. He is a brave and fearless fighter and is striking the old beast sledge-hammer blows with every issue of his splendid paper. It is issued weekly, giving the editor 52 shots a year at the enemy and every shot hits the bull's-eye. But it makes no difference how good the paper may be it must have circulaion if it gets results. So I am writing this article to ask every Rail Splitter reader to send their subscription to this paper and help Rev. Williams in the great work he is doing. A dollar won't break you but a few hundred dollars coming in all at one time will be a great help and encouragement to a worthy brother. Let us help him start the New Year off with a rush. Just put a dollar bill in an envelope with your address and shoot it to the Oklahoma Patriot, P. O Box 185, McAlester, Okla.—The Rail Splitter.

Reading 7 For Topic VIII

Some Examples Of Klan Violence and Intimidation In The 1920's

David M. Chalmers, Hooded Americanism
(New York: Franklin Watts, Inc.,
1981)

GEORGIA

Upon being introduced to an audience of Georgia Klansmen, Colonel Simmons silently took a Colt automatic from his pocket and placed it on the table in front of him. Then he took a revolver from another pocket and put it on the table too. Then he unbuckled his cartridge belt and draped it in a crescent shape between the two weapons. Next, still without having uttered a word, he drew out a bowie knife and plunged it in the center of the things on the table. "Now let the Niggers, Catholics, Jews, and all others who disdain my imperial wizardry, come on," he said. -- pp.32-33

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TEXAS

In Denton the Klan took two Negroes from jail and flogged them. A Negro bellhop in Dallas was flogged, KKK was branded on his forehead with acid, and he was dumped in front of the hotel. A warning, signed KKK, sent striking Negroes back to the cotton fields of Corsicana at the old rate of fifty cents a hundred pounds. When a Negro dentist was kidnaped and whipped, the resulting rumors of retaliation and racial warfare brought the Klan out, armed and badged, to patrol the streets of Houston.

But only a small portion of the Klan's defense of morality and society was directed at the Negro. A white man in Timson, who had recently separated from his wife, was taken out and beaten. So were a Brenham man who spoke German, a divorced man in Dallas, a bank cashier in Bay City, a lawyer from Houston who annoyed girls, and another attorney who participated in Negro lawsuits and sometimes won. A woman was taken from a hotel where she worked in Tenha, stripped, beaten with a wet rope, and tarred and feathered, over the disputed question as to whether her second marriage had been preceded by a divorce. Waco police arrested three masked and hooded Klansmen, with the molded, feathered tar still warm upon their victim, and the grand jury presented no indictment. Jewish-run businesses were boycotted, Mexicans carefully watched. Ex-Governor Ferguson's daughter wrote of coming out of the Paramount Theatre in Austin and seeing two men, tarred and feathered, running up Congress Avenue with a jeering mob at their heels. They had been released at the river, she learned and told to run to the newspaper offices and then get out of town. The Klan in Dallas was credited with having flogged sixty-eight people during the bloody spring of 1922, most of them at a special Klan-whipping meadow along the Trinity River bottom. -- p.41

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KANSAS

It was clear, as the investigation rolled onward, that the Klan was established in most of the communities of the state. At its high tide in 1924, membership ran close to the one-hundred-thousand mark. The Klan claimed that it was strictly a fraternal and charitable organization and therefore not legally required to seek a charter. The testimony, however, brought out what most Kansans were coming to know all too well. One out of every four people in Kansas was Jewish, Roman Catholic, or Negro, and they found themselves the particular object of snubs, boycotts, and harassment. The Klan appointed representatives in each ward in Kansas City to keep a watch on the behavior of their neighbors. The school superintendent in Arkansas City was requested to keep his staff Protestant. The superintendent in Kansas City was criticized for allowing Negro and white children to take part together in a school pageant. Klansmen stopped cars on the roads to search them for liquor and invaded homes in Emporia to make certain that no one was playing cards on Sunday. Word was received from Atlanta that a Jew driven out of the South had settled in Kansas and should be kept moving. The Klan sent warning letters to "misbehaving people" in Salina, policemen in Galena, and an editor in Columbus. In the town of Liberty, Klansmen kidnaped and whipped the mayor because he had refused them permission to use city hall for a meeting. Suspicion and fear beset individuals and divided communities. -- p.144

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PENNSYLVANIA

The Pennsylvania Klan was not as inclined to violence as some of its Southern and Western brothers were, but it soon got its share. In 1923 there was a clash with American Legionnaires in Lancaster, over a Klan wreath at the Armistice Day rites. A little girl was reportedly kidnaped from her grandparents in Pittsburgh and a Waynesboro man was flogged for failure to take care of his mother. In addition, there were Klan strong-arm squads, such as the Homestead and Harrisburg Wreckers, the Reading Night-Riders, the Venango gang, who smeared buildings with cow dung; the Everett Klansmen who discussed castrating a Negro; and the Mechanicsburg outfit which actually did have a genuine flogging. Two truckloads of hooded men fired at an encampment of Negro Boy Scouts in Upper Darby. When two policemen were shot while they investigated a masked meeting on the Haverford Campus, the Lower Merion police chief ordered his remaining men to shoot to kill. In the Pittsburgh suburb of Wilkinsburg, threatening calls over the barring of the Klan led to cancelation of a Defense Day parade.

With the Klan growing self-confident and talking constantly about the menace of lawbreakers, bootleggers, the micks and Italians, the nuns in the schools, and the Pope in Rome, an even more serious outbreak of violence was not unlikely. In the summer of 1923, there was an armed clash in the industrial town of Carnegie, just west of Pittsburgh, and more trouble narrowly averted the next week at nearby Scottdale. The next spring there was an even more serious outbreak in the town of Lilly near Altoona. -- pp.237-238

Reading 8 for Topic VIII

William Allen White's Criticism of the Ku Klux Klan

Letter of William Allen White to
Herbert Bayard Swope, September 17,
1921 in Selected Letters of William
Allen White, 1899-1943, Walter
Johnson, ed. (New York: Holt,
Rinehart & Winston, 1947) pp.220-221.

An organizer of the Ku Klux Klan was in Emporia the other day, and the men whom he invited to join his band at $10 per join turned him down. Under the leadership of Dr. J.B. Brickell and following their own judgment after hearing his story, the Emporians told him that they had no time for him. The proposition seems to be:

Anti-foreigners

Anti-Catholics

Anti-Negroes

There are, of course, bad foreigners and good ones, good Catholics and bad ones, and all kinds of Negroes. To make a case against a birthplace, a religion, or a race is wickedly un-American and cowardly. The whole trouble with the Ku Klux Klan is that it is based upon such deep foolishness that it is bound to be a menace to good government in any community. Any man fool enough to be Imperial Wizard would have power without responsibility and both without any sense. That is social dynamite.

American institutions, our courts, our legislators, our executive offices are strong enough to keep the peace and promote justice and goodwill in the community. If they are not, then the thing to do is to change these institutions and do it quickly, but always legally. For a self-constituted body of moral idiots, who would substitute the findings of the Ku Klux Klan for the processes of law to try to better conditions, would be a most un-American outrage which every good citizen should resent.

It is to the everlasting credit of Emporia that the organizer found no suckers with $10 each to squander here. Whatever Emporia may be otherwise, it believes in law and order, and absolute freedom under the Constitution for every man, no matter what birth or creed or race, to speak and meet and talk and act as a free law-abiding citizen. The picayunish cowardice of a man who would substitute Klan rule and mob law for what our American fathers have died to establish and maintain should prove what a cheap screw outfit the Klan is.

William Allen White, 1868-1944, was
a famous American journalist and
editor of the Emporia, Kansas
Gazette. He was considered an
important spokesman for small-town
America.

Reading 9 for Topic VIII

The Struggle For Civil Rights

John A. Garraty, The American Nation,
2nd Ed. (New York: Harper and Row,
1971) pp.978-980, 983.

During the fifties and sixties the pent-up resentments of Negroes against...prejudice burst forth in a grass-roots drive for civil rights. The legal assault on school desegregation had been carefully planned by the NAACP, but the hopes roused by Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka inspired a few Negroes to act spontaneously against the system and when they did, thousands of others rushed to join them. This phenomenon first occurred in the tightly segregated city of Montgomery, Alabama. On the evening of December 1, 1955, Mrs. Rosa Parks boarded a Montgomery bus on her way home from work. She dutifully took a seat toward the rear as law and custom required, but after white workers and shoppers had filled the forward section of the bus the driver ordered her to give up her place. She refused, having suddenly made up her mind, she later recalled, "never to move again."

Mrs. Parks was arrested. The Negroes of Montgomery, led by a young Baptist clergyman, Martin Luther King, Jr., promptly organized a boycott of the buses. For a full year they refused to ride and finally, after a Supreme Court ruling in their favor, Montgomery desegregated its public transportation system. This success encouraged blacks elsewhere in the South to band together against the caste system. It also made King, who preached civil disobedience as the best way to destroy segregation, a national figure. His organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, moved into the forefront of the civil rights movement, and in 1964 his work won him the Nobel peace prize.

Other new organizations also joined in the struggle, most notably the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)....In February 1960 four black students in Greensboro, North Carolina, sat down at a segregated lunch counter in a local five-and-ten and refused to leave when they were denied service. Their "sit-in," a tiny defiance in itself, sparked a national movement. CORE rushed field workers to Greensboro, students in dozens of other southern towns and cities copied their example, until, by late 1961, over 70,000 persons had participated in sit-ins and over a hundred lunch counters had been desegregated.

In May 1961 another group of Negro and white foes of segregation organized a "freedom ride" to test the effectiveness of federal regulations prohibiting discrimination in interstate transportation. Boarding buses in Washington, they traveled across the South, heading for New Orleans. In Alabama they ran into trouble: at Anniston racists set fire to their bus, in

Birmingham they were assaulted by a mob. Quickly other groups of freedom riders descended on the South, many deliberately seeking imprisonment in order to test local segregation ordinances in the courts. Repeatedly, these actions resulted in the breaking down of legal racial barriers.

The civil rights crusade soon spread to the North. Negroes, often joined by sympathetic whites, boycotted stores that refused to hire members of their race and picketed construction sites where black workers were not employed....The nationwide impact of the "Freedom Now" crusade was highlighted in August 1963 when 200,000 persons participated in an impressive "March on Washington" to demand racial equality. The orderly nature of the immense throng that gathered before the Lincoln Memorial and the evident sincerity of all concerned had a considerable impact upon public opinion.

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 [providing equal rights for all citizens in voting, education, public accommodations, and federally assisted programs]...seemed like a major step forward, but the forces resisting change remained formidable. In the spring of 1965 peaceful Negro demonstrators in Selma, Alabama, were brutally assaulted by state policemen wielding clubs and tossing canisters of tear gas into their ranks. Liberal opinion was shocked as never before; thousands descended upon Selma from all over the nation to demonstrate their sympathy and support for American blacks. Congress passed still another civil rights act, giving the federal government power to send officials into the South to register black voters [Voting Rights Act of 1965]. Another law, passed in 1968, took important steps in the direction of outlawing discrimination in the sale and rental of housing, and imposed stiff criminal penalties on persons found guilty of interfering with anyone's civil rights....

American Negroes had achieved by 1970 gains that would have seemed inconceivable a generation earlier. President Johnson had placed a Negro on the Supreme Court (Thurgood Marshall, tactician of the NAACP's legal fight for school desegregation), and another in his Cabinet (Robert Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development). The first Negro since Reconstruction (Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts) had been elected to the U.S. Senate. More than 518,000 black children were attending schools with whites in the southern states by 1968, and more than 3.1 million adult southern blacks (62 per cent of the black voting-age population) were registered to vote....

Reading 10 For Topic VIII

Civil Rights Documents

A.

Brown v. Board of Education Of Topeka - 1954

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state had undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the quesion presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does....

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and other similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment....

B.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

Title I: Voting

The Act:

a. requires that the same standards be applied to all individuals seeking to register and vote;

b. forbids denial of the right to vote because of some minor mistakes or omission;

c. requires that only literacy tests that are written may be used as a qualification for voting; and that the tests and answers be available on request;

d. establishes that in voting rights law suits the court must presume that anyone who completed the sixth grade is literate, unless the State can prove otherwise....

Title II: Public Accommodations

Discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin is specifically forbidden in the following places of public accommodation:

a. hotels and motels, restaurants, lunch counters, movie houses, gasoline stations, theaters and stadiums;

b. any other establishment which offers its services to patrons of the covered establishment; for example,

- a barbershop or tavern located in a hotel, or

- a department store in which there is a restaurant; so long as the covered facilities either affect interstate commerce in their operations, or are supported in their discriminatory practices by State action.

In addition, discrimination is forbidden in any other place of public accommodation that is required to segregate by State or local laws....

Title III: Public Facilities

The Attorney General is authorized to bring a civil suit to compel desegregation of any publicly-owned or operated facility whenever he receives a written complaint of discrimination. He must believe that the complaint merits action and must certify that the individual or individuals making the complaint are themselves unable to take the necessary legal action. State or municipally owned or operated parks, libraries and hospitals are among the facilities covered....

Title IV: Public Education

Under this title the U.S. Office of Education is authorized to:

a. conduct a national survey to determine the availability of equal educational opportunity;

b. provide technical assistance, upon request, to help States, political subdivisions or school districts carry out school desegregation plans;

c. arrange training institutes to prepare teachers and other school personnel to deal with desegregation problems;

d. make grants enabling school boards to employ specialists for in-service training programs.

In addition, the Attorney General is authorized to file civil suits seeking to compel desegregation of public schools, including public colleges....

Title V: Commission on Civil Rights

The life of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is extended until January 31, 1968. Since 1957 the Commission's functions have included investigating denials of the right to vote, studying legal developments and appraising Federal policies relating to equal protection of the laws, and making recommendations for corrective action to the President and the Congress.

Title V gives the Commission added authority to:

a. serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;

b. investigate allegations of vote fraud.

Title VI: Federally Assisted Programs

Under this title every Federal agency which provides financial assistance through grants, loans or contracts is required to eliminate discrimination on the grounds of race, color or national origin in these programs.

For example, this title would require the following:

a. hospitals constructed with Federal funds would have to serve all patients without regard to race, color or national origin;

b. elementary and secondary schools constructed, maintained and operated with Federal funds would have to admit children without regard to race, color or national origin;

c. State employment services financed by Federal funds would have to refer qualified job applicants for employment without discrimination;

d. schools for the deaf and the blind operated with Federal funds would have to serve the deaf and blind of any color;

e. colleges and universities receiving funds for their general operation or for the construction of special facilities, such as research centers, would have to admit students without discrimination;

f. construction contractors receiving funds under Federal public works programs would have to hire employees without discrimination....

Title VII: Equal Employment Opportunity

This title establishes a Federal right to equal opportunity in employment. It creates an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to assist in implementing this right.

Employers, labor unions and employment agencies are required to treat all persons without regard to their race, color, religion, sex or national origin. This treatment must be given in all phases of employment, including hiring, promotion, firing, apprenticeship and other training programs, and job assignments....

C.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965

SUBCHAPTER I-A-ENFORCEMENT OF VOTING RIGHTS

1973. Denial or abridgement of right to vote on account of race or color through voting qualifications or prerequisites.

No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State or political subdivision to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color, or in contravention of the guarantees set forth in section 1973b(f)(2) of this title.

42 U.S.C. β1973 et seq.

Reading 11 for Topic VIII

The Ku Klux Klan Attempts To Negate The Civil Rights Advances

From an unpublished Anti-Defamation
League Report on the Ku Klux Klan

The year 1960 was marked by a sharp increase in Klan activities and by the consolidation of Klan groups in seven states. The Klan resurgence and consolidation process dated from the start of the now-historic sit-in movement, launched at Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 2, 1960, by young black civil rights activists.

The Klan resurgence of the early 1960s took place at a time of intense civil rights activity both in the South and in Washington. The period was marked by dramatic events in the civil rights struggle in Alabama. When authorities used police dogs and firehoses against civil rights demonstrators in Birmingham, the event shocked the nation and attracted worldwide attention. At the same time in Washington, during the summer of 1963, President John F. Kennedy had proposed broad civil rights legislation that culminated after his death in the adoption of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Concurrently, voter registration drives to enroll black Americans as legal voters were being held in Mississippi and other Southern states. Desegregation efforts were taking place in various locations around the South as hundreds of civil rights workers, many of them from Northern states, worked on a variety of civil rights activities during 1962, 1963, and 1964.

The Klans took over the resistance effort in a desperate attempt to halt the gradual but steady progress of racial desegregation. While every episode of violence in the region during that time could not be blamed on the Klan there was no question that the Klan contributed substantially to the sordid record of violence and the climate of terror surrounding racial tensions in the South. Both white and black alike were targets of the terror, but black homes, businesses, and churches were the main targets.

Klansmen were involved in some of the most notorious acts of violence during the 1960s:

— The slaying of civil rights workers James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner near Philadelphia, Mississippi, on June 21, 1964. Twenty-one men were arrested, eighteen were eventually tried on federal charges of conspiracy to commit murder. The government marshalled overwhelming evidence that the roadside triple murder had been the direct result of a Klan extermination plot. Seven of the eighteen were convicted by an all-white jury.

-- The murder of Lieutenant Colonel Lemuel Penn, a black educator from Washington, D.C., who was gunned down in Georgia on July 11, 1964, from a passing automobile while driving home to Washington from Fort Benning, Georgia, where he had served a tour of active duty in the U.S. Army Reserves. Four Klansmen were arrested and charged with the murder. Two of them were tried in a Georgia court and acquitted. In 1966, however, the same two were charged with joining in a Klan conspiracy to kill blacks, thus violating their civil rights, and were convicted in federal court.

-- The murder of Viola Gregg Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker, on a lonely highway in Lowndes County, Alabama, on March 25, 1965, immediately after the completion of the now-famous Selma-to-Montgomery Freedom March. Three Klansman were indicted by a federal grand jury of civil rights violations in connection with the slaying. In November, 1965, the three defendants were convicted on the federal charges and were sentenced to ten years in prison.

-- The death of Vernon Dahmer, an NAACP official of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, who died as a result of burns he sustained in the firebombing of his residence on January 10, 1966. On March 16, an all-white Mississippi jury found a Klansman guilty of the crime. An agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation testified that the White Knights of the KKK had met prior to Dahmer's death and plotted to get rid of him because he was "getting too many niggers to vote," and that three Klansmen had acknowledged attending the secret meeting.

-- These murders -- and the 1963 bombings of the Birmingham church in which four young black girls were killed -- are only the most infamous of the crimes committed during the Klan's 1960s reign of terror.

By October, 1965, Klan membership had risen to an estimated 51,000, as the Klans' violent resistance to desegregation and civil rights legislation attracted the most die-hard segregationists and extremists.

The first half of 1967 was marked by urban violence and riots in the inner cities of metropolitan areas of the North. Major disorders took place in some cities, such as Newark and Detroit. During the "long, hot summer" of 1967, radicals and extremists, both black and white, proclaimed slogans of violence--"Burn, baby, burn!" The national climate was one of tension as the disorders repeatedly made front-page news, and TV screens from coast to coast depicted scenes of violence, fire, and smoke.

The atmosphere seemed ready-made for Klan organizing, and -- the Klan did enjoy "a brief mid-summer flurry" of successful recruitment that brought Klan membership strength to 55,000 in twelve states of the South -- the highest figure since the end of World War II.

A Congressional investigation of the Klan from 1965 to 1967 uncovered a record of violence and terrorism as well as possible financial irregularities.

Three Klan leaders were sent to prison for refusing to produce subpoenaed records. The Klan suffered a setback from which it did not recover for almost a decade. During the late 1960's and early 1970's Klan organizing and activity declined substantially.

Not until the late 1970's did the most recent Klan resurgence begin to be noticeable. But even these gains have not brought the Klan anywhere near its postwar peak of 1967, and of course, it remains far below the millions who belonged in the 1920's.

TOPIC IX - THE NEO-NAZIS IN THE UNITED STATES

Student Aim - Who are the neo-Nazis?

Instructional Objectives

1. Students will gain an understanding of the philosophy of Nazism.
    a. They will recognize its racism, anti-Semitism, authoritarianism and use of violence and terror.
    b. They will recognize its destruction of basic democratic rights.
2. Students will understand that the American neo-Nazis have the same philosophy as the Nazis and use the same methodology as the Nazis.
3. Students will recognize that the neo-Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan have many similarities.

Approach

1. Read to the class the following excerpt from the writings of George Lincoln Rockwell, founder of the American Nazi Party:

> We believe that Adolph Hitler was the gift of an inscrutable Providence to a world on the brink of a Jewish-Bolshevik catastrophe, and that only the blazing spirit of this heroic man can give us the strength and inspiration---to bring the world a new birth of radiant idealism, realistic peace, international order, and social justice for all men.
>
> All at once, I had the answer! By being an Open, Arrogant, ALL-OUT NAZI, not a sneaky Nazi...with the swastika, storm troopers and open declaration of our intention to gas the Jew traitors...I would make an end of this filthy silent treatment, for they could never ignore Nazis with swastika armbands and talk of gas chambers....

George Lincoln Rockwell, *This Time The World* (privately published, 1963) pp. 245-246.

2. Explain that the American Nazi Party models itself on Nazi Germany. Because they are the "new" Nazis, we call them neo-Nazis.

3. Solicit pupil reactions to the Rockwell statement. Note Rockwell's desire for publicity. How would you feel about this man and his movement if you were a former GI who had fought in World War II?

4. Rockwell says that he wants to bring the world idealism, peace, order, and social justice. Since his hero is Adolph Hitler he would want to institute in the United States the same kind of government Hitler instituted in Germany and the countries he conquered. Let us analyze the system of government imposed by the Nazis. This is not only the government the neo-Nazis want, but also the government from which the Ku Klux Klan has borrowed many ideas.

Development

1. Ask the class to name some of the fundamental human rights that we take for granted here in America

   - Freedom of speech, press, religion
   - Right to due process of law
   - Right to protection of life and property
   - Freedom from arbitrary search and seizure

2. Distribute to the class copies of Reading 1 for Topic IX: The Anatomy of Nazism. Explain to the class that the reading describes the Nazi view toward the fundamental human rights that have been named. (Note: This is a lengthy reading which you might want to assign as homework in preparation for this class.)

3. In the discussion of the reading the following points should be included:

   - The Nazis instituted strict censorship of radio, theater, newspapers, books--all sources of information. Refer students to the statements on a free press by Robert Shelton, the Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America (Reading 1 for Topic VI: The Public Relations Image Projected By The Klan). He claims that our press today is not free--only the Klan is capable of introducing a truly free press. Compare that with the Nazi claim that their total censorship of the press was truly the will of the people.

- No freedom of speech was permitted. No criticism of the Nazis could be made even within the confines of the family.

- Christian religious instruction was put firmly under the control of the government. Jewish synagogues and Jewish religious life were destroyed.

- The entire system of due process of law which is so important in safeguarding individual rights was demolished.

  Note also that it is through our courts that we have been able to prosecute extremists for their acts of violence. In Germany, of course, the violent behavior of the Nazis was regarded as necessary and proper.

- There were no free elections. No other political party except the Nazi Party was permitted. All authority was vested in the Nazi Party; they in turn accepted the Fuehrer as their infallible leader.

- Those whom the Nazis wished to destroy or reduce to submission had no rights to life, liberty, or property. Review the definition of "genocide" and the material on the scapegoating of Jews by the Nazis covered in Topic IV.

  Note that the Klan, in its attempts to stop the granting of civil rights to blacks, destroyed black life and property as a matter of policy.

- The Nazis advocated and glorified a racist philosophy--the Germanic or "Aryan" people were a "master race" destined to rule over all others. Compare this with the racist philosophy of the American hate groups.

4. Ask the class to summarize what they have learned about the Nazi system of government.

   - Point out that this is the system that Rockwell equates with idealism, peace, order and social justice.

   - Discuss the fact that we must never accept statements made by hate groups in an uncritical way.

5. Explain that Lincoln Rockwell is no longer alive (he was murdered by a fellow-Nazi), but the neo-Nazi movement still exists in the United States. Let us see what form it has taken, and what effect it has had.

- Distribute to the class Reading 2 for Topic IX: The Neo-Nazi Movement In The United States.

6. In the discussion of the reading include the following questions:

   - Why do the neo-Nazis have a limited appeal in this country?

   - What internal problems do they have?

   - Why do they direct their appeal primarily at youth? Discuss the fascination some youngsters have with insignias, uniforms, rings, belt buckles, and the swastika symbol.

   - Do students fascinated with Nazi symbols and regalia really understand what the Nazis stand for? Note that as memories of WW II recede, it is easier to romanticize or fantasize about Hitler.

   - With whom do the neo-Nazis cooperate both here and abroad? See Topic XIII, Reading 2 for information on the activities of European neo-Nazis.

7. The reading mentions the neo-Nazi message of hate against Jews and blacks. To better understand this message distribute to the class Reading 3 for Topic IX: Neo-Nazi Propaganda. Ask the students as they read to note the parallels between the goals of the neo-Nazis and those of the Nazis.

8. In the discussion of the reading note the blatant racism; the assertions of white supremacy; the denial of citizenship and civil rights to Jews; the accusation that Jews control the country--all these are imitative of the Nazis. Note the author's intention to ship all blacks to Africa on "surplus Liberty Ships." Analyze what such a suggestion really involves. The suggestion is reminiscent of the Nazi statements about Jewish "resettlement," when in reality they were moving Jews to ghettos and concentration camps preparatory to murdering them.

9. Point out to the class that the reading, like most public relations statements of hate groups, makes no mention of the violence that is so integral a part of neo-Nazi policy. Distribute to the class Reading 4 for Topic IX: Neo-Nazi Violence.

10. Discuss the reading. Note that the neo-Nazis, though few in number, can cause harm in two ways:

- By acts of individual violence and terror

- By encouraging members of a community to react violently. Nazi presence and incitement serve to instigate already prejudiced individuals to act out their prejudices in violent ways.

Summary - Application

How are the neo-Nazis a threat to American democracy?

Follow-up Activities

1. Show the filmstrip The Anatomy of Nazism - 55 frames/color with captions. An historic presentation of the social, cultural, economic and political workings of fascism in Hitler's Germany. Although focused on Germany, this filmstrip succeeds in reflecting the general threat to democracy of all forms of totalitarianism. Available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nation's Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

2. If not shown earlier, show the color/sound filmstrip Organized Bigotry: White Sheets and Swastikas. The first part of the filmstrip concerns the neo-Nazis.

Readings for Topic IX

1. The Anatomy of Nazism - Earl Raab, The Anatomy of Nazism (New York: The Anti-Defamation League, 1979).

2. The Neo-Nazi Movement In The United States - From an unpublished Anti-Defamation League Report on Extremism.

3. Neo-Nazi Propaganda - James A. Madole, "A Racial Program," The Program of the National Renaissance Party.

4. Neo-Nazi Violence - From an unpublished Anti-Defamation League Report on Extremism.

   A. Individual Acts of Violence By Nazis.

   B. A Linking Of Nazi Activities and Community Passions.

Reading 1 For Topic IX

The Anatomy of Nazism

Earl Raab, The Anatomy of
Nazism (New York: The Anti-
Defamation League of B'nai
B'rith, 1979), pp. 15-20, 23-25

Public Information and Expression

The only information and opinion which the German people could receive was that which was handed out to them by the Nazi Party. The success of political "double talk" and the "big lie" depended in large part on the absence of any expressions of fact or opinion which did not conform to Nazi doctrine. The Nazis immediately established a monopoly over the mass media, notably newspapers, films and radio. Within a year after the Nazis took power, 1,000 newspapers had been suppressed, and an additional 350 newspapers had voluntarily ceased publication. All newspapers were under the direction of the Reich Press Chamber, which had full power to censor them or put them out of business. Goebbels said: "The concept of the absolute freedom of press is definitely liberalistic and proceeds not from the people in its entirety but from the individual...The more freedom of opinion that is conceded to an individual, the more it can harm the interests of an entire people."

In keeping with his dictate, the radio, theatre, libraries, and all other sources of information were censored as rigidly as the newspapers. No criticism of the basic policies of the government, or of its leaders, was permitted. Goebbels explained: "The present government is perhaps not always right but no better government is conceivable."

Neither was any group nor individual allowed to utter any dissent from or criticism of the government. Nazi law provided punishment for any statements "likely to undermine the confidence of the people in the political leadership." This meant, in effect, that a German was breaking the law if he expressed criticism of the government even to his own family over the breakfast table. The Hitler Youth were required to report such criticisms, and there were numerous cases of children reporting their own parents to the police.

Religion

In order to totally blanket the minds of the people, it was necessary for the Nazis to establish full control over all religious institutions. Not only did the Nazis consider organized religions as competitors, but they also believed that the pulpit was a channel for independent expression.

The Nazis first created a single state-sponsored Nazi Christian church to control and unify all of the Protestant congregations in Germany. An obscure minister who had long been sympathetic to the Nazis was established as "Reich Bishop" in charge of this national church. There were many Protestant ministers who opposed this maneuver and formed a League of Defense. In 1935, this group issued a statement warning against the "new heathenism." Over 700 Protestant ministers were immediately placed under arrest, and the Protestant churches were stripped of whatever authority they still had. Those who continued to speak out in criticism, such as the heroic Pastor Martin Niemoller, were arrested and imprisoned. Soon organized opposition became practically non-existent.

Although the Nazis had signed a concordat with the Vatican in 1933 guaranteeing freedom of religious practice to Germany's 20,000,000 Catholics, this agreement was violated very quickly and with increasing frequency. The leader of Catholic Action was assassinated. The Catholic press was suppressed, the Catholic youth movement and educational system seriously harassed. Catholic priests and lay leaders were often arrested and imprisoned. Because of these developments, Pope Pius XI issued an anti-Nazi encyclical in 1937 which was read in the Catholic churches of Germany. Priests and nuns were arrested in large numbers, and new financial pressures were applied to the churches.

Because religious institutions were deeply rooted in Germany, it was not possible to abolish the churches overnight. But while the Nazis were attempting to suppress and subvert the churches, they were also engaged in weaning future generations away from Christianity. There was a long-range program to substitute a Nazi version for the traditional Christian religions....

A Nazi magazine commented on the Golden Rule in 1939: "This fundamental law of Christianity completely contradicts our moral conscience, contradicts above all the warrior-like nature peculiar to the soul of our race."

The children were taught to pray to Hitler instead of to God. Grace before meals given to poor children by the Nazi Welfare Committee ended: "For this food, my Fuehrer, my thanks I render." Another official child's prayer ended: "Fuehrer, my Fuehrer, my faith and my light, Heil my Fuehrer."

Due Process of Law

Due process of law means that a person cannot be prosecuted without adequate proof that he actually violated the conditions of the law. It means that he must have an open court trial, with a jury if he so desires, in which he can bring in his own witnesses and challenge the witnesses against him. The Nazis exhibited complete contempt for due process. One of their first acts was to set up special "courts" for political offenses, in which no legal proof had to be offered in order for the judge to convict the accused. Indeed, a person could be retroactively convicted of a crime which had not been a crime at the time he committed it.

The Nazis carried this approach to its logical conclusion: the police were empowered to arrest, convict and punish people without any trial, and for any offenses they saw fit, whether a law was violated or not. The Nazi secret police, the Gestapo, was specifically authorized "to uncover and combat tendencies and developments inimical to the state and to take to this end all measures deemed necessary and expedient." There was no check or control over its actions. Uncounted thousands of German citizens were arrested by the Gestapo and never seen again by their families.

Goering justified this Nazi contempt of the legal process in characteristic fashion: "We do not recognize the exaggerated dictum that the law must prevail, even if everything collapses. We consider as a primary thing not the law but the people...there can only be one concept of the law; namely the one laid down by the Fuehrer...the law and the will of the Fuehrer are one."

Representative Government

People vote in order to make choices - among parties, candidates or issues.If there are no choices open to them the vote becomes meaningless. The Nazis, after their assumption of power, removed all possibility of choice. All opposition parties were abolished. Any hint of opposition within the Nazi Party was crushed. When the German people voted on candidates, they were given only one candidate to vote for: the Nazi candidate. They could vote "yes" or "no" on this candidate, but the single candidates usually received the approval of over 99 per cent of the voters. Why? First of all, it was dangerous to vote "no." The Gestapo could--and often did--whisk away "no" voters without explanation or return. No one could criticize the actions of the government because freedom of speech was not permitted. The government could not be changed because there was no freedom of election. So by linking the one-party system to the abolition of free speech and press and to the abolition of due process, the Nazis had achieved a closed method of staying permanently in power. But, more than that, by establishing a monopoly on information and education, and using that monopoly skillfully, the Nazis apparently succeeded in "selling" the Nazi rule to large numbers of the German people.

Treatment of Human Beings

The Nazis deliberately used terror and brutality to maintain power and keep the population cowed. Organized brutality, besides being a political method for rooting out opposition, indicates a government's basic attitude toward human life and dignity. It reveals a fear and hatred of people. This basic hatred was at first unleashed toward Jews and non-Germans, and later turned against the Germans themselves.

The Nazis began their campaign against the Jews by restricting their movements, limiting their activities, and isolating them from the German community. First, Jews were excluded from public office. Then they were prohibited from practicing such professions as law, medicine, and teaching. They were deprived of their citizenship and political rights. By January, 1939, no Jew could own or operate a retail or wholesale business, or pursue any independent occupation.

These were the economic and political measures that were most apparent to the eyes of the world. Meanwhile, other measures were being enforced for the sole purpose of demeaning and degrading the German Jews. They were forced to wear special identification; children were urged to jeer at them in the streets; they were prohibited from marrying non-Jews; and non-Jews who had social relations with Jews were subject to severe penalties.

But brutality, once unleashed, accepts no boundary lines. Degradation spilled over into physical attack. On November 10, 1938, for example, a telegram was sent by the Gestapo to all police bureaus stating that "spontaneous" anti-Jewish demonstrations were about to take place during the next several days and that the police should stand by for "the speedy jailing of the Jews." According to a report to Goering, the first night 191 synagogues were demolished, 171 Jewish homes set on fire, 20,000 Jews arrested and 36 assassinated by Nazi mobs. The records of Buchenwald Concentration Camp (mass prison), show that 10,000 Jews were received there between November 10-13. They were beaten and tortured while the Buchenwald loudspeakers repeated over and over: "Any Jew who wants to hang himself is asked to please put a piece of paper with his number in his mouth so that we may know who he is."

Such concentration camps became a standard part of the Nazi regime. As the Nazi armies took over Middle Europe and Poland, concentration camps sprang up throughout the continent, and millions of Jews were forced into them. After the war ended, the leading Nazis went on trial for their crimes against humanity. A special commission consisting of some of the world's outstanding jurists was set up in Nuremburg to examine witnesses and gather and sift documentary evidence relating to Nazi brutality....

The Nazis [adopted a] policy of genocide...early in World War II. Under the direction of a special Nazi department headed by Adolf Eichmann, special chambers for mass execution by gas were built. Rudolf Hoess, the commander of one concentration camp, Auschwitz, boasted: "We built our gas chambers to accommodate 2,000 people at a time." He added: "We knew when the people were dead because their screaming stopped." The bodies were cremated in vast ovens; at Auschwitz, a record was set in June 1944 of 22,000 incinerations in 24 hours.

Altogether, 6,000,000 Jews were killed by these and other means. But these facilities were used for others as well. The Nuremberg documents indicated that close to 3,000,000 Poles and other non-Jewish Middle Europeans were also exterminated in this fashion....

Accent on Authority

The Nazis held the theory that they had received a mandate to act in the interests of the community; and their authority to act was absolute and boundless. Since the Nazi Party knew what was good for the community, there was no need for opposing parties or for parliamentary debate. Indeed, such opposition could only hamper the progress and efficiency of the community.

By further extension, the Nazi Party itself was led by a super-elite culminating in "Der Fuehrer" - Adolf Hitler - which had the same absolute authority. Robert Ley said: "The National Socialists [the official name of the Nazi Party] believe in Hitler who embodies their will...Only what Adolf Hitler, our Fuehrer, allows, or does not allow is our conscience...."

Nazi theoreticians did not admit that this "leadership principle" ignored the will of the community. They insisted that the majority of the people were in support of their policies - but also insisted that these policies were best for the community and would be followed, even if the majority were to disagree. Indeed, it was the Nazi Party - and ultimately the Fuehrer - who unerringly understood the needs of the community, even when the majority of the people didn't. Herman Goering put it simply: "We National Socialists believe that in political affairs Adolf Hitler is infallible." This "infallibility" was not a light figure of speech but was meant literally.

Accent on the "SELECT"...

German rulers and philosophers had for years been telling the Germans that they were a superior race. The Nazis built upon this legacy of extreme nationalistic pride. They quoted Count Keyserling, who wrote: "The German people who destroyed the old world were rough and cruel but they were also courageous, loyal and ready to sacrifice; this enabled them, given their talents, to be continuously better in the course of centuries, whereas Greeks and Romans who were refined and false, perished through degeneration."

They quoted such writers as Houston Stewart Chamberlin who wrote: "The races of mankind are markedly different in the nature and also in the extent of their gifts, and the Germanic races belong to the most gifted group, the group usually termed Aryan."

Thus, the Nazis maintained not only that the German community was superior, but that it was superior by the inherited nature of its people. Moreover, the Nazis held that this "natural superiority" of the German community meant that it was destined eventually to "lead" the world. This idea was embodied in the slogan Hitler used to tantalize the Germans: "Today Germany, tomorrow the world."

Point 4 of the Nazi Program read: "None but members of the nation Volk [folk] may be citizens of the state. None but those of German blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the nation...."

Reading 2 For Topic IX

The Neo-Nazi Movement In The United States

From an unpublished Anti-Defamation
League Report on Extremism.

The American Nazi Party, later renamed the National Socialist White Peoples Party, was started in 1958 by George Lincoln Rockwell.

Despite over 20 years of effort, the movement in America is small and splintered. The combined membership of all the neo-Nazi groups is at most 1200 — a figure which has not changed in years.

The Nazi hero in America, as in Germany, is Adolph Hitler. Like the storm troopers of the past, America's Nazis wear Nazi uniforms, hold drills, feature the swastika and conduct themselves along military lines. In so doing, they bring up memories of millions of innocent people who were slaughtered by the Nazis during the second World War. They also remind people that America had gone to war to defeat Nazism and that hundreds of thousands of Americans had been killed in that war.

Rockwell never attracted more than a few hundred sympathizers nationwide. A number of these were drifters and common criminals. However, the press paid considerable attention to their activities which featured picketing and other street actions in uniform. In so doing, the Nazis even though few in number, provoked angry confrontations and some violence. Additional attention was provided when Rockwell was invited to speak at college campuses. His appearances invariably created trouble. Even though he was almost always jeered, his message was the same--kill the Jews--send blacks "back" to Africa.

Rockwell was murdered by a fellow Nazi in 1967. His successor, "Commander" Matt Koehl decided to play down Rockwell's publicity seeking "shock" tactics and to concentrate on training a party leadership. The name of the party was changed to National Socialist White Peoples Party; the appeal contined to be directed primarily at youth.

The movement, however, could not stay together. Struggles began over leadership and splinter groups broke away to form their own parties. Some of them died out, as for example when the leaders of one splinter group were convicted on charges of plotting to bomb a public school in Columbus, Ohio to protest a desegregation order.

There are presently some eight Nazi parties. The main one continues to be the one founded by Rockwell which has 100 hard-core members and 400 "official supporters." This group, which is still headed by Koehl, is the best organized and disciplined. Even so, it turns out no more than 20-40 people for a demonstration or meeting. It has unfriendly relations with the other Nazi groups which are all in competition with each other.

One of these groups, based in Chicago, sparked nation-wide controversy when it threatened to hold a rally in the mostly Jewish community of Skokie, Illinois. A legal battle erupted when efforts were made to stop the rally. The Supreme Court finally ruled that the rally could not be stopped. It was held in Chicago, attended by 20 to 25 Nazis and some 2000-3000 spectators. Racial insults were traded and a few fights broke out. The Nazis, however, received national publicity.

As expected, each of the Nazi groups tries to sell its message through a variety of publications, all of them with the same message of hatred of Jews and blacks.

The American Nazis have established ties of friendship and collaboration with Nazi organizations in Germany and other European countries. They have also established connections with the Ku Klux Klan. Both Klan members and neo-Nazis were involved in the murder of demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979; members of the Klan have trained at a paramilitary camp operated by a neo-Nazi group; Klansmen and Nazis have celebrated Hitler's birthday together; and they have attended each others rallies in several states.

Reading 3 For Topic IX

Neo-Nazi Propaganda

A Racial Program

James A. Madole, leader of the National Renaissance Party

From The Program of the National Renaissance Party, pp.3, 4

1. We shall enact and rigidly enforce legislation to restrict the benefits of American citizenship to mentally and genetically sound members of the Caucasian Race whose forefathers created a mighty civilization on the North American continent. (By the Caucasian Race we refer to European people of Nordic, Latin, Slavic, Anglo-Saxon, and Celtic origin.) Non-Whites may live here only as guests or subjects of the Racial Nationalist State.

2. We shall enact legislation to prohibit intermarriage between Whites and non-Whites in order to breed a superior race of human beings who will be capable of turning the North American continent into a paradise with the aid of advanced science and technology, agricultural planning, and economic social justice.

3. The Jewish Race, which constitutes the motivating financial and intellectual backbone of left-wing revolutionary activity in the United States as manifested in the so-called "Negro Civil Rights Movement," shall be deprived by suitable legislation of their American citizenship and shall henceforth be prohibited from holding any professional, political or educational posts within the Racial Nationalist State. During the past 35 years the Jews have managed to obtain a tremendous hold on American politics, art, education, culture, law, and commerce. No people on earth with a vestige of pride in itself and its national honor will tolerate such a domination of the KEY professions by members of a completely ALIEN race. At the same time the Jews are a determining factor in those political parties which have sought to undermine the last vestiges of racial and national pride in America. The Jew constitutes an alien virus in our national blood stream and as such he must be purged from our cultural, economic and political life.

4. We shall enact legislation to hasten the repatriation of American Negroes to the newly independent Black nations on the African continent under the auspices and guidance of Black Nationalist leadership in the United States. This repatriation program will be set in motion as follows:

a) The Racial Nationalist State will grant financial, technical, and educational assistance on a major scale to all independent African nations which accept their former brethren from North America as welcome citizens in their domains. These comparatively well educated American Negroes could be a great boon to their more primitive African kinsmen.

b) The Racial Nationalist State will pay all travelling expenses, freight costs, and a sum not exceeding $5000 to all emigrating Negro families in order to assist them in creating a new life in the land of their racial forebears. Surplus Liberty Ships will be provided and properly outfitted for transportation purposes.

5. The establishment of a selective immigration policy whose primary purpose is to attract the best European racial stock to our North American continent in order to utilize their vast energy and talent in the task of creating a dynamic, expanding White Empire capable of withstanding the encroachments of the primitive, colored world led by the Oriental colossus, Red China.

Reading 4 For Topic IX

Neo-Nazi Violence

From an unpublished Anti-
Defamation League Report on
Extremism.

A.

Individual Acts of Violence By Nazis

-- February, 1977 - Fred Cowan, a subscriber to Nazi and anti-Semitic publications who lived in New Rochelle, New York, killed five innocent persons including four co-workers and a police officer before taking his own life. Cowan was a collector of Nazi regalia and had a swastika tattooed on his body.

-- May, 1977 - Raymond Schultz a member of Rockwell's American Nazi Party, killed a Jewish man in Chicago by subjecting him to cyanide inhalation. Schultz then killed himself with a dose of cyanide while handcuffed in the rear of a police car.

-- September, 1977 - Kenneth Wilson, a 17-year-old youth wearing a swastika armband, killed two persons and injured three others at a Labor Day church picnic attended by blacks in Charlotte, North Carolina. The killer, who then fatally shot himself, was identified by Harold Covington, leader of the National Socialist Party of North Carolina, as an official supporter of his party.

-- November, 1979 - Two of the six defendants indicted on charges of murder in the deaths of five leftist activists at an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro, North Carolina identified themselves as members of Harold Covington's neo-Nazi party. The other four were Ku Klux Klan members.

-- March, 1981 - Six American Nazis and supporters arrested on charges of conspiring to stage a series of terrorist attacks if the group of Klansmen and Nazis tried in connection with the Greensboro killings were found guilty. A federal indictment charged the six with conspiring to blow up a petroleum storage facility, a chemical fertilizer plant, a shopping mall, and part of downtown Greensboro.

B.

A Linking of Nazi Activities and Community Passions

Not all Nazi-inspired violence has been the solitary deeds of disturbed minds. The extent of organizationally-inspired violence and its potential danger to American communities was demonstrated a few years ago in the largely white Marquette Park area of Chicago's southwest side, where Nazi activities and community passions became linked on at least two occasions.

On June 6, 1976, a Marquette park rally of 200 white youths, led by members of Frank Collin's National Socialist Party of America, turned into a rock-throwing riot against Chicago policemen. The crowd, spurred on by the presence of NSPA members wearing swastikas and carrying signs reading "White Power" and "Nigger Beware," had rallied to counter an anticipated demonstration by local blacks protesting a lack of open housing in the area. When the demonstration failed to materialize, the Nazi youths and their allies began hurling rocks and bottles at the police and at passing automobiles with black occupants. An off-duty corrections officer was shot and at least 200 automobiles were damaged during the melee. Subsequently, a deputy police chief was quoted as saying that "the Nazi party gathered this crowd and incited the community into this state of behavior."

The following summer, on July 23, 1977, another attempted march by blacks in Marquette Park was confronted by more than 1,500 white area residents, again spurred on by members of the National Socialist Party of America. As a result of the ensuing melee, sixteen policemen were injured. Marquette Park, where both incidents occurred, is near the NSPA's "Rockwell Hall" headquarters in Chicago.

PART TWO

ANTI-AMERICANISM AND TOTALITARIANISM - THE MARXIST-LENINIST GROUPS OF THE EXTREME LEFT

TOPIC X - RECOGNIZING THE EXTREMIST GROUPS OF THE LEFT

Student Aim - How do we recognize the extremist groups of the left that exist in the United States today?

Instructional Objectives

1. Students will understand that the extremist groups of the left can be recognized by:
    - their espousal of Marxism - Leninism.
    - their stress on class conflict.
    - their organization into tightly disciplined "vanguard" parties.
2. They will realize that the extremist groups of the left try to gain support by:
    - claiming opposition to "fascism," "reaction," "imperialism," war.
    - stressing their solidarity with the working classes and the "oppressed."
    - exploiting controversial economic, social, and political issues.
3. They will understand that the goals of the extremist groups of the left are completely contrary to American democratic values.
4. They will realize that Marxism-Leninism leads inevitably to a totalitarian dictatorship.

Approach

1. Remind the students that at the inception of their study of the hate groups in American society they discussed the fact that the hate groups are also known as extremist groups of the right, a term which the students defined. Ask them to recall that definition, and use it as a basis for formulating a definition of extremist groups of the left.

- *Extremist* - Their ideas and conduct go beyond the bounds of recognized behavior.

- *Of The Left* - They stand for the complete destruction of the present social, political, and economic system, claiming that they will substitute for it a utopian society. In actuality, extremism of the left leads inevitably to a totalitarian dictatorship, a system of government where there is *one* party, *one* authority, *one* way of life, *one* ideology.

2. Indicate that the purpose of the lesson is to identify the extremist groups of the left in the United States and study their major ideas, in order that we can better recognize them and the dangers they pose to our society.

evelopment

1. Distribute to the class Reading 1 for Topic X: *Organizations On The Extreme Left In The United States.*

   - Ask the students if they have ever heard of any of these groups, and, if so, to describe what they know.

   - Note that all the groups share a common ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

   - Let us analyze in greater detail the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism.

2. Distribute to the class Reading 2 for Topic X: *The Philosophy of Marxism-Leninism.*

   Explain that these are actual quotations from Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Mao, the Communist International, and recent Communist dignitaries. Ask the students to read the quotations silently, taking notes on the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. In the discussion include the following points:

   - Marxism-Leninism rejects all law, morality, and religion as bourgeois prejudices.

   - Righteousness is present only in the Communist Party.

   - Any form of lie or trickery is justified to attain one's ends and create hatred for the opposition.

   - Violence and terror are justified. Force and armed struggle are regarded as essential and inevitable.

- There is inevitable class conflict--the "masses" against the "elite," the "proletariat" against the "bourgeoisie" and "the professionals."

- Democratic, parliamentary, capitalist systems must be completely destroyed. So must the type of voluntary social and fraternal organization found in a democratic society.

- Private property must be abolished.

- Religious observance is discouraged. Religion is regarded as oppressive and exploitative.

- There can be no coexistence between Communism and Democracy. Communism must prevail.

3. Tell the class--now that we understand the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, let us study the American Marxists-Leninists more thoroughly.

4. Distribute to the class Reading 3 for Topic X: The Methods, Goals, and Beliefs Of The Organizations On The Extreme Left In The United States.

    - Discuss the reading.

    - What kind of people are attracted to extremist left organizations?

    - What are their methods, goals, and beliefs?

    - How does the left exploit such issues as unemployment, racial strife, disarmament?

    - Note the tight discipline used by the extremist left groups, and the adherence of members to a "party line."

    - Note the international connections of the extremist left - to Russia, China, Cuba, the Fourth International.

    - Note the contempt for America and its democratic values. America is painted as a repressive regime which oppresses its Black, Hispanic, and Oriental minorities.

5. Remind the class that when studying the Ku Klux Klan they discussed the dangers involved in "humanizing" Klan members--a technique engaged in by the media.

    Explain that there is also a tendency to "humanize" the left, through the use of language that tends to distort the true nature of left extremism.

6. Distribute to the class Reading 4 for Topic X: The Language Used To Describe The Extreme Left.

   - Discuss the reading.

   - Analyze the dangers inherent in the distortions of language the reading describes.

   - Recall Lenin's statement that any form of lie is permissible in order to attain the desired ends.

Summary

Develop a blackboard outline:

Recognizing The Extremist Groups of the Left

1. What Is Their Message?

2. What Is Their Appeal?

3. Why Are They A Threat To Our Society?

Application

At the start of the lesson we said that extremism of the left leads to totalitarian dictatorship.

- Discuss, in terms of the knowledge gained about the extremist left during the lesson.

Readings For Topic X

1. Organizations On The Extreme Left In The United States - Source: The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

2. The Philosophy of Marxism-Leninism - Quotations from Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Mao Tse Tung, et al.

3. The Methods, Goals, And Beliefs Of The Organizations On The Extreme Left In The United States.

   A. To The East Of The Communist Party - Thomas R. Brooks, "To The East Of The Communist Party," *New York Times Magazine*, April 25, 1965.

   B. To The East Of The Communist Party - Addenda, 1980 - Thomas R. Brooks.

4. The Language Used To Describe The Extreme Left - Excerpted from Arnold Beichman, "Six 'Big Lies' About America," *New York Times Magazine*, January 6, 1971.

Reading I For Topic X

Organizations on the Extreme Left in the United States

Source: The Anti-Defamation
League of B'nai B'rith.

Vocabulary

Communism - Ideally, a social system characterized by the absence of classes, and by common ownership of the means of production and subsistence. However, Communism today has come to mean a system of government of one party, in which the state owns the means of production and controls all aspects of society.

Marxism-Leninism - Communism as it was formulated by Marx and Lenin. Belief in the inevitability of class conflict and the resolution of that conflict in a revolutionary struggle. Today's communist societies are based on the Marxist-Leninist model of Communism.

Trotskyists - Followers of Leon Trotsky - one of the major leaders of the Russian Revolution, murdered on orders from Stalin. These are Marxist-Leninists who insist that revolution must be world-wide and constant. Communism cannot exist in one country alone.

Maoists - Followers of the Communist Chinese model of Marxism-Leninism. Based on a peasant rather than proletarian movement as a means of achieving power in underdeveloped, non-industrialized countries.

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Organizations

Communist Party of the United States -- The oldest Marxist-Leninist organization in the country, it frequently runs candidates for national and local office. It is a faithful adherent of the U.S.S.R.

Socialist Workers Party -- Followers of Leon Trotsky. Active supporters of so-called Third World revolutionary movements and of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Views Russia as "a corrupt workers state," and America as an "imperialist aggressor."

Progressive Labor Party -- Founded by followers of Chairman Mao. Lost members after Mao was demythicized.

Spartacus League (Spartacists) -- Followers of Trotsky. Believers in a "world revolution."

Workers League -- Another Trotsky group. Consider themselves true revolutionaries.

Workers World -- Began as followers of Trotsky, now "independent." They remain neutral in the ideological battles between Moscow, Havana, and Peking.

There are a scattering of organizations that consider themselves the true followers of Chairman Mao. These include the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), and the Communist Workers Party.

Weather Underground Organization -- Members of the Students for a Democratic Society who went "underground" in 1969 to form a clandestine terrorist organization. Accused of numerous bombings, and the killing of two police officers and a guard during an attempted armed robbery of a Brink's truck in Nyack, New York, October, 1981.

Prairie Fire Organizing Committee -- the West Coast front for the Weather Underground.

May 19th Committee -- the East Coast front for the Weather Underground.

The Weather Underground is also an ally of two black terrorist and nationalist organizations, the Black Liberation Army and the Republic of New Africa. Along with its two front organizations, it is also linked with Puerto Rican terrorists: members of the Forces of National Liberation (FALN), and Chicano terrorists: the Continental Liberation Army (CLA).

All extremist organizations on the left in the United States share a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism. Their doctrines entail a belief in the inevitable struggle between the working class and the capitalist class, which leads to revolution. In that struggle, their party is the advanced troop (the "vanguard party") which brings to power the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (Rule by the working class). Any means -- trickery, deceit, lawbreaking, withholding and concealing the truth, violence -- are acceptable so long as they serve the cause. They are anti-democratic and anti-American.

Reading II For Topic X

The Philosophy of Marxism-Leninism

Karl Marx, Manifesto of the Communist Party, 1848.

Law, morality, religion, are to him [the proletarian] so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

Marx, Manifesto of the Communist Party, 1848.

...the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.

V.I. Lenin as quoted by C.L. Sulzberger, N.Y. Times, Dec. 26, 1955.

There can be a question only of utilizing bourgeois state institutions with the object of destroying them... The Communist Party enters such institutions not in order to do constructive work, but in order to direct the masses to destroy from within the whole bourgeois state machine and parliament itself.

V.I. Lenin, quoted in Max Eastman, Reflections on the Failure of Socialism, p.87.

We must be ready to employ trickery, deceit, law-breaking, withholding and concealing truth. We can and must write in the language which sows among the masses hate, revulsion, scorn, and the like, toward those who disagree with us.

V.I. Lenin, Complete Works (French Edition) Vol. XVIII, p. 361.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing else than power based upon force and limited by nothing -- by no law and by absolutely no rule.

V.I. Lenin, Socialism and Religion, 1905.

Religion is one of the forms of spiritual oppression that everywhere weighs on the masses of the people, who are crushed by perpetual toil for the benefit of others...Religion is the opium of the people. Religion is a kind of spiritual gin in which the slaves of capital drown their human shape and their claims to any decent human life.

Leon Trotsky, Terrorism and Communism, Paris 1924, p.71.

The dictatorship of the Communist Party is maintained by recourse to every form of violence.

Leon Trotsky, Izvestia, January 10, 1919.

Terror as the demonstration of the will and strength of the working class, is historically justified, precisely because the proletariat was able to break the political will of the Intelligentsia, pacify the professional men of various categories and work, and gradually subordinate them to its own aims with the field of their specialities.

Leon Trotsky, quoted in Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, The American Communist Party, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1977), p.506.

One can only be right only within the party and through the party, since history has created no other paths to the realization of what is right.

Mao Tse Tung, quoted in Time, December 18, 1950.

Communism is not love. Communism is a hammer which we use to crush the enemy.

Mao Tse Tung, 25 Years of the Chinese Liberation Army, Peking, 1952.

The main form of struggle is war, the main form of organization is the army... Without armed struggle there would be no place for the proletariat, there will be no place for the people, there will be no place for the Communist Party, and there will be no victory in revolution.

Mao, trans. by Tony White, (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p.230.

All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it.

The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. The Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.

Mao, trans. by Tony White (New York: Schocken Books, 1969) p.231.

Whoever has an army has power...Every Communist must grasp the truth, Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun...Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army...The guns of the Russian Communist Party created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed.

Program of the Communist International, 1928.

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully "capturing" the ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority... The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus (bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliaments, etc.) and substituting in its place new organs of proletariat power, to serve as instruments for the suppression of exploiters.

William Z. Foster (former chairman of the U.S. Communist party), Toward Soviet America, 1932, 1971.

Under the dictatorship [of the proletariat] all the capitalist parties -- Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc. - will be liquidated, the Communist Party functioning alone as the party of the toiling masses. Likewise will be dissolved all other organizations that are political props of the bourgeois rule, including chambers of commerce, employers' associations, Rotary Clubs, American Legion, Y.M.C.A., and such fraternal orders as the Masons, Odd Fellows, Elks, Knights of Columbus, etc.

Nikita S. Khrushchev, at a Polish Communist Party meeting in Warsaw, April, 1955.

We must realize that we [the Communist world and the West], cannot co-exist eternally, for a long time. One of us must go to the grave. We do not want to go to the grave. They do not want to go to their grave either. So what can be done? We must push them to their grave.

Reading 3 For Topic X

The Methods, Goals, And Beliefs Of The Organizations On The Extreme Left In The United States

A.

To the East of the Communist Party

Thomas R. Brooks, "To The East Of The Communist Party," New York Times Magazine, April 25, 1965.

Last Aug. 14, [1964] a group of 84 students returned from Cuba. Since their visit had taken place against the wishes of the State Department, the homecoming youngsters were interviewed by curious reporters. Otherwise, an announcement by one of their number, Charles Berrard, might have gone unrecorded. As it was, it went unheeded for six months. Said Berrard: "There are 11 black people who traveled on this trip to Cuba. One girl. And while in Cuba we decided to call ourselves the Black Liberation Front--and so this is who is addressing you right now, the Black Liberation Front."

Few got the message, though Gordon D. Hall of Boston, who diligently collects such data for his lectures on extremism, tape-recorded Berrard's brief announcement. Then, on Feb. 16, Robert Steele Collier, Walter Augustus Bowe, Khaleel Sayyed and a French-Canadian Separatist, Michelle Duclos, were arrested for allegedly plotting to blow up the Statue of Liberty and the Washington Monument. Collier, Bowe and Sayyed are members of the Black Liberation Front, according to the police, who also described the organization as a pro-Castro and pro-Chinese Communist group. Whether or not the charges against Collier and his fellow Black Liberationists will stand up in court, the "plot" is a way-out manifestation of a new extreme left in American politics, an extreme that may be defined by its view of last summer's riots in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant as "a rebellion of the Negro people." It is a view shared by Havana and Peking.

This "Maoist" coloration gives certain far-out left groups an added notoriety.... But as a self-proclaimed new breed of "Marxist-Leninist," they hardly need the touch of Peking pink to draw attention to themselves and their actions.

The most prominent of the groups is the Progressive Labor Movement (P.L.M.), which has just met in New York to hold a "founding convention of a new United States Communist Party." It will be called the Progressive Labor Party. "The most hated government in the world today is the government of our country," said a P.L.M. manifesto that went on to pledge a "struggle on whatever level and with whatever forms are necessary [against] the gas-chamber plans of this country's ruling class...."

Today's far-out left consists of any number of front organizations, splits, splinters, tendencies or groups other than the P.L.M....

These groups are active and vociferous. At demonstrations, their leading activists are sure to be among those who holler "Fascist cops," and are likely to be among the more violent hauled off in police vans....

The extreme left today is made up of those who are to the left--or, geographically speaking, to the east--of the Communist party of the U.S.A. Many of those involved are indeed children of the nineteen-thirties generation of Communists and fellow travelers. Most identify emotionally with Fidel Castro and politically with Peking. Their number remains so far small--only about 2,500 to 3,000 altogether....

Whole sections of the [Communist Party], including most of the staff of The Daily Worker, quit over such developments as Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin and the Hungarian rebellion. Of those who stayed on, a goodly number have since been expelled as Albanian-Chinese deviants by the orthodox, Moscow-oriented wing....And these survivors are dismissed contemptuously by the new leftists. "They're all old ladies up in the Bronx," one said...

The nouveaux Marxist-Leninists have little use for the pro-Soviet [old-guard Communists]. Unique on the new left, however, is the Spartacus League, a revolutionary group that views both Cuba and China as "deformed workers' states," worthy of defense against U.S. imperialism but also needing an additional dosage of revolution and further defense against "counter-revolutionary Stalinism." Russia is a "degenerated workers' state," a far more serious decline from revolutionary virtue in Spartacist eyes....

The goal of the Progressive Labor Movement, [now Party] which started four years ago as a Brooklyn mail drop and operated for a time out of an East Village apartment, is much more grandiose--nothing short of being a "vanguard party, capable of leading millions directly...."

The largest nouveaux Communist group, it claims a membership of 1,200 in some 60 or 70 clubs around the country--New York City, San Francisco, the Bay area, Seattle, Portland, Louisville, Atlanta, Georgia and Boston. According to Fred Jerome, the editor of Challenge, the average age of its membership is about 25, with 75 per cent of the membership under 30 and close to 95% per cent under 40. About a quarter of the members are Negroes or Puerto Ricans; 50 per cent are students, and the rest are "workers of all kinds...."

P.L.M. members are expected to attend all meetings of their local organization, sell P.L.M. publications for at least two hours a week, belong to a P.L.M. study group and participate in criticism and self-criticism." "No club will recruit a member who presently belongs to any Trotskyite, C.P. or other counterrevolutionary sect." Gossip is frowned upon; factions and cliques "are not to be tolerated." "No party member may make adverse statements about the party politically unless sanctioned by the leading body in the area or nationally."

The P.L.M. has already promoted some front groups and infiltrated other organizations, much in the old Stalinist style. As an instance, P.L.M. members work on campus through their own clubs and within the May 2d Movement, an amorphous "radical student peace organization," currently agitating against involvement in Vietnam....

P.L.M., of course, is not the only group with Maoist aspirations.

Another group, the Workers World party, with members in 11 states, is possibly as large as P.L.M. Workers World, however, appears to be a good deal more hung up on Castro and near-Black Nationalism than the cool P.L.M.

Robert F. Williams, who urged Negroes to arm themselves, and then fled to Castro's Cuba, is a Workers World folk hero. "He's a person we support very much," says Vincent Copeland, editor of Workers World. "We were the very first to welcome his comment that Negroes should meet violence with violence. . . .Self-defense is an elementary human right, not to mention a class right...."

B.

To the East of the Communist Party -- Addenda, 1980

Thomas R. Brooks

Left-extremists still adhere to Marxist-Leninist dogma -- belief in the inevitability of class conflict and its resolution through revolutionary struggle led by a tightly-disciplined "vanguard" party, acting on behalf of the industrial working class, which will, once in power, establish a one-party "proletarian" dictatorship.

Marxist-Leninists (Communists, Trotskyists, Maoists) view history as a succession of class struggles ending in a "final conflict" between the capitalist class and the working class. Through the Party, workers will establish a "dictatorship of the proletariat," a one party state with all property owned by the state. As we see in Soviet Russia, Communist China, Marxist-Leninist Cuba, all so-called "socialist countries," there are no freedoms -- of speech, assembly, press, or petition. Such freedoms are considered "bourgeois freedoms," by Marxist-Leninists and, therefore, have no place in a workers' state.

Anything that exacerbates class antagonisms, that pits workers against capitalists, peasants against landlords, students against society, advances the class struggle. Though workers are seen as historic agents of change transforming society, the Marxist-Leninists do not trust them to find their own way. It is necessary, therefore, that the more class conscious segments of the working class be organized into a disciplined "vanguard" party.

The party -- and its members -- work to further the cause by exploiting such issues as unemployment, racism, oppression, imperialism, war and peace. Often, these are slogans with little reality. Marxist-Leninists term all opponents of totalitarian Communism "reactionaries," or, "Fascists," America is "imperialist." The Marxist-Leninists are not interested in peaceful resolution of problems. They seek to use the problems to attract recruits and to disrupt democratic societies. For example, Marxist-Leninists have organized demonstrations seemingly on behalf of some grave issue solely for the purpose of provoking the police into a crack-down on demonstrators.

All Marxist-Leninist parties believe in revolution, though, at times, they may talk the language of reform. These parties are not democratic. Members must adhere to a line often formulated by a "central committee," or, in some instances, on orders from Moscow, Peking, even Havana.

* * *

Today, the Communist Party, U.S.A., is the largest organization among American Marxist-Leninists and, perhaps, the most influential. It does not publish membership figures, but party sources claim a membership close to 15,000. It is the most "respectable" left-extremist group, in part because the current "line" views the struggle for socialism as a long term one that develops in stages. Present Communist Party strategy calls for building an "antimonopoly coalition" of workers, consumers and poor Blacks, Hispanics, and Orientals.

The Communist Party remains subject to Soviet interests and considers itself a sister party to that of the Soviet Union. It supports Soviet foreign policy, holding, for example, that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is "Soviet assistance in the people's interests."

Along with other Marxist-Leninists, Communists believe democracy a "sham"; America is imperialist, racist and repressive. They work to undermine democracy and seek to destroy freedom despite democratic-sounding rhetoric.

* * *

Leon Trotsky, one of the major leaders of the Russian revolution, was driven out of Russia in 1927 and murdered on orders from the Russian dictator Stalin twelve years later in Mexico. His followers have organized

Marxist-Leninist parties in various countries around the world (needless to say they are unable to do so in the Soviet Union and its satellites, in Cuba or Communist China) joined together in the Fourth International--the central organization of Trotskyist parties.

Trotskyists hold socialism in one country impossible. Until socialism is world-wide, the victory of socialist or communist movements in particular countries will necessarily be "deformed" by nationalism, reformism, and other defects. Trotskyists, therefore, refuse to accept any existing socialist country as a model. Nonetheless, most Trotskyists will defend socialist countries against the "imperialist west," in particular, against "American imperialism."

During the 1970's, it seemed that the Socialist Workers Party, the largest Trotskyist organization in the United States, might replace the Communist Party in reach and influence. It shifted its line from an emphasis on workers to argue that the women's movement, the Chicano, black and homosexual movements represented a "new radicalization" of elements of the working class. It also developed ties with the PLO. The SWP youth organization, the Young Socialist Alliance, captured control of campus anti-war organizations as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) declined and disintegrated over the decade. SWP and YSA members were active within the women's, peace and "Third World" movements.

The strategy was successful. At its peak, the YSA attracted nearly 5,000 to its convention. SWP candidates in local and national elections increased. In 1975, the SWP Presidental candidate received more votes than did the candidate of the Communist Party.

However, in 1977, the SWP reverted back to its former emphasis on the importance of the industrial proletariat and downgraded the "new radicalism." Subsequently, SWP membership apparently declined, down to 1,800 with most working in industry rather than among women and on campus.

There are a number of other Trotskyist sects ranging from the Spartacists to the Workers Vanguard, but only one, the Workers World Party, has a membership of over a thousand. The WWP, virtually indistinguishable from its youth group, the Youth Against War and Fascism, carries on "anti-war" activities on behalf of so-called national liberation movements. Its policies, excepting the Trotskyist dogma on the impossibility of socialism in one country, are said to be virtually indistinguishable from those of the Communist Party.

* * *

The break between Communist China and the Soviet Union sparked the creation of a number of Maoist parties, or, groups, in this country and elsewhere around the world. The Maoists tend to be more apocalyptic than the Communists or Trotskyists, placing more emphasis on armed struggle than other Marxist-Leninists.

Recent events in China, the demythicizing of Mao, various efforts at "reform," etc., have had a shattering impact on American Maoists, who have splintered over assorted ideological issues. All, of course, claim to be "true Maoists," "true Marxist-Leninists." Because of a number of splits and purges, the Progressive Labor Party has lost many members. The Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) is currently the most orthodox Maoist group. The Communist Workers Party attained the greatest notoriety when five of its members were killed during an anti-KKK demonstration in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979. Altogether, American Maoists number around 2,500 in a half-dozen or so organizations.

Reading 4 For Topic X

The Language Used To Describe The Extreme Left

Excerpted from Arnold Beichman,
"Six 'Big Lies' About America,"
New York Times Magazine,
January 6, 1971.

The culture of a free society becomes seriously corroded when lies circulate freely as truths; when an unsupported assertion is accepted as a statement of fact rather than as something to be proved, when the line between possibility and certainty becomes invisible.

In political discourse, one expects lies and half-truths; politicians are not, after all, philosopher-kings. In culture, however, when lies begin to be accepted as worthy of debate by our enormously powerful social critics and literary intellectuals a crisis in values follows. Culture cannot long withstand perversions of truth. When culture becomes politics, revolutionary politics in particular, there can be no criterion for truth and its inseparable companion, rationality, for then every man is his own judge of truth with the right, if he so chooses, to force his truth on the refractory. As Andre Malraux once wrote: "The path that leads from moral reasoning to political action is strewn with our dead selves."

What is new is that lying through the perversion of language or distortion of visible fact is now widely accepted as normal, so long as these derelictions are created by "progressives" around "progressive" issues. Take a little lie: the misuse of the phrase "underground press" to describe the left-radical-counterculture newspapers, all of which are obtainable on most 42nd Street newsstands or on street corners from the East Village to Haight-Ashbury. The phrase "underground press" formerly defined publications which had to circulate secretly, from hand to hand, because they were against a repressive government, against a ruthless establishment, determined to punish publishers of such publications. There was an underground press in Czarist Russia, as there is one today in Communist Russia. An underground press existed in France during the Nazi occupation. It didn't sell at any kiosks in Paris any more than a samizdat paper, like *Chronicle of Current Events*, sells at kiosks in Moscow.

Our "underground" newspapers and books are sold openly and widely with full instructions on how to make a Molotov cocktail or how to make false claims for "lost" travelers' checks so you can live in the U.S. on "no dollars a day." About the worst fate that can befall the publishers of our "underground" papers is bankruptcy. Why, then, is it the fashion to refer to this press as the "underground press" when so clearly it is not?

Or take the word "blind," a one-way adjective which is attachable only to unprogressive political positions. Robert Heilbroner, the economist, likes to talk about "blind anti-Communism," but no true progressive could ever say, for example, "blind anti-Fascism." On the contrary, one must always condemn a Fascist dictatorship, but one need condemn a Communist dictatorship only once a year--say, on the anniversary of the second invasion of Czechoslovakia--or during some particularly horrendous event. To keep harping about Communism makes you a "blind anti-Communist." To praise Communist revolutions as a significant modernizing force is to be an unsentimental realist, a scholar; to be doubtful is to be "blind" to reality....

TOPIC XI - TOTALITARIANISM: THE EXTREME LEFT IN CONTROL

Student Aim - What are the distinguishing characteristics of the totalitarian governments of the extreme left?

Instructional Objectives

1. Students will understand what is meant by totalitarianism.
2. They will learn the major features of totalitarianism.
3. They will understand how rigid state control affects the thinking and behavior of those living under totalitarianism.
4. They will realize that this is the type of society American groups of the extreme left hope to establish in the United States.
5. They will compare the totalitarian and democratic forms of government.

Approach

1. Read the following statement to the class:

> The appeal of Communism is its promise of liberation from economic and colonial oppression, but the unvarying performance of Communism is the total enslavement of the individual citizen.
>
> Emerson Chapin, ed.
> Freedom vs. Communism
> (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith), p.1

- Discuss the statement. Ask students to recall the discussion held during the lesson on extremist groups of the left (Topic X), as to how extremism of the left leads inevitably to totalitarian dictatorship.

2. Explain that the purpose of this lesson is to analyze in greater detail the characteristics of totalitarianism.

Development:

1. Distribute to the class Reading 1 for Topic XI: Definition of Totalitarianism. Remind the class that during the study of extremist groups of the left (Topic X) totalitarianism was defined as a system of government with one party, one authority, one way of life, one ideology. Reading 1 gives a more complete definition.

   - Discuss the reading.

   - Ask the students to keep in mind the features of a totalitarian state described in the reading as they proceed to investigate actual examples of totalitarian states.

2. Distribute to the class Reading 2 for Topic XI: Solzhenitsyn Describes The Soviet Union.

   - Let us learn more about the government the Marxist-Leninists instituted in the Soviet Union.

3. Discuss the reading. In the discussion include the following points:

   - The use of terror, hostages, killings and execution to impose and maintain the goals of the state.

   - The elimination of all political opposition.

   - No free legislature, judiciary or elections. No independent press.

   - No acceptance of absolute standards of right and morality. The state declares what is right or wrong.

   - The ultimate aim of spreading Communism to the western world.

4. Distribute to the class Reading 3 for Topic XI: A Description Of Life In Communist China.

   - Let us see what the Maoist version of Marxism-Leninism has achieved in China.

5. Discuss the reading. In the discussion include the following points:

   - The complete regulation of every facet of life.

   - No due process of law. Instead, self-criticism, self-accusation, self-incrimination.

- The constant indoctrination of the population, from the very young to the very old.

6. Distribute to the class Reading 4 for Topic XI: A Description Of Life Within The American Communist Party.

   - Explain to the class that the groups of the extremist left in the United States, such as the Communist Party, attempt to govern the lives of their members as they would govern them if they were the actual rulers of the country.

7. Discuss the reading. In the discussion include the following points:

   - Ross is a perfect product of a totalitarian system. His beliefs and values have been so completely molded by the Communist Party that he fully accepts their appraisal of him as a traitor.

   - Compare the self-incrimination of Ross with that described in the reading on Communist China. It is important, in a totalitarian system that those declared guilty admit and accept their guilt. Only in that way can total control over all citizens be maintained.

8. Based on the readings they have done, ask the students to draw up a list of the characteristics of a totalitarian system. Place on the blackboard. The list should include the following:

   - One-Party state - no political opposition

   - Laws are formulated by the Party - it sets the standards of conduct

   - No free speech

   - No free press

   - No freedom of religion

   - No due process of law; self-incrimination

   - Complete regulation of life

   - Thought control; indoctrination of all citizens

   - No free trade unions, fraternal, or social organizations

- No right to strike or protest
- No right of free assembly
- The use of terror, taking of hostages, executions
- Complete obedience of the citizenry required
- The ultimate power is in the hands of the Party

9. Ask the students to draw up a companion list of a democratic system. To assist them, refer them to Reading 5 for Topic XI: Definition of Democracy. Place on the blackboard. The list should include the following:

   - A number of political parties with serious competition between them.
   - Laws are formulated by the people's representatives - "A government of laws"
   - Free speech
   - Free press
   - Freedom of religion
   - The right of due process of law; the right to be defended by an attorney; considered innocent until proven guilty
   - Freedom of association
   - Free trade unions, fraternal, and social organizations
   - The right to strike and protest
   - Freedom of assembly
   - Freedom from arbitrary arrest, torture, unreasonable search, execution; any violation of the integrity of the person
   - The minority cannot be denied any rights by the majority
   - The ultimate power is in the hands of the people

Summary

Ask the students to pretend that they are citizens of a totalitarian state. How do they think, feel, and act?

Application

Your friend is impressed by a young man he (she) has met who says he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party. He says the United States is an imperialist nation that oppresses its poor and minorities. He advocates a revolution that will destroy the oppressor class and result in a truly equitable society.

What do you tell your friend?

Readings For Topic XI

1. Definition of Totalitarianism — International Education: Values and Perspectives on Four Human Rights, Teacher Edition (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Teachers).

2. Solzhenitsyn Describes The Soviet Union — Solzhenitsyn: The Voice of Freedom, AFL-CIO Publication No. 152, (AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006.)

3. A Description of Life In Communist China — Claudie and Jacques Broyelle, "Everday Life in the People's Republic," Quadrant, No. 136 Vol. XXII, No. 11, Nov. 1978.

4. A Description of Life Within The American Communist Party -- From an essay by Richard Wright in The God That Failed, Richard Crossman, ed., (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949).

5. Definition of Democracy — International Education: Values and Perspectives on Four Human Rights, Teacher Edition. (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Teachers).

Reading 1 For Topic XI

Definition of Totalitarianism

International Education: Values and Perspectives on Four Human Rights, Teacher Edition. (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Teachers), pp. 21-22.

Totalitarian systems are created by extremists with the goal of building a new form of society in which, in theory, mankind's principal motivation is not individual self-interest but a desire to contribute to the collective good. The new society requires a "new man." Totalitarians presume that people's attitudes and values are shaped by the information which they receive and by the organizations in which they live and work. In order to condition the desired attitudes and behavior in their "new man," totalitarian rulers seek to control the ideas and information each person receives and to direct every organization in which that person participates.

In an efficient totalitarian system, all aspects of life are politicized: work, culture, sports, science, and religion. The purpose of this politicization is to assure that people are conditioned in all their activities and contacts to think and behave as the "new man" should. To provide a common set of guidelines for the various aspects of life, totalitarian systems propagate a single, official ideology. No other ideas are permitted to be written, read, or spoken publicly. To assure that the desired conditioning reaches everyone, all citizens are required to demonstrate positive support for the ideology.

It is not enough just to refrain from criticizing the government. Everyone is obliged to attend ideological training courses and to participate in "self-criticism."

In totalitarian countries, there are no independent organizations. Every economic enterprise, trade union, cultural association, sports club, etc. is a state organization. Its physical facilities are state property and its employees are paid by the state. No group is allowed to exist without party representatives, referred to as a "party fraction," within its membership. This "party fraction" receives the policy directives of the ruling party and applies them to the activities of the group. The group's members must follow the policies dictated by the "party fraction" or they will face government harrassment or arrest. The members of the "party fraction" must not deviate from the general lines of the higher party policy or they will be purged from the party. In this manner, the control of the dictators at the top level of the ruling party is truly total. No overt independent groups exist in the society. Totalitarian dictators do not need to repress newspapers by censorship nor trade union leaders by imprisonment, since they direct and dictate every major action and position of every organization.

Historically, in most cases, totalitarians have been able to come to power and establish dictatorial control during periods of great economic and social disruption. Conversely, societies which feature strong, representational organizational and political parties and which enjoy relative economic stability are the least susceptible to anti-democratic movements of the right or left, such as totalitarian or other dictatorial forces. Totalitarian governments come to power during times of rapid social change, and they use their control to force through continued changes in the economy, the polity and the society, in keeping with their goals. To eliminate existing organizations from building up stable constituencies and from developing autonomy, totalitarian rulers try to keep society in a state of ferment by conducting political purges, by prosecuting organizational leaders, and by taking advantage of such economic transformations as industrialization and urbanization....

Totalitarian governments have proven to be extremely resistant to liberalization. Since the party attempts to control every aspect of life, it is unlikely that there would be a group within which opposition could begin. If totalitarian regimes are efficient in repressing any organized opposition, the only possibility for a successful revolution against that regime would be spontaneous popular insurrection. However, popular insurrections are unlikely and, if they do occur, could not ultimately be sustained without organization and support. Where totalitarianism has been imposed from the outside through military occupation by a foreign power, nationalism can provide the common emotion which can spark such a popular uprising, as in Hungary in 1956 or Poland in 1956, 1970, 1976 and 1980. Where totalitarian regimes have come to power through their party's own strength in internal national political struggles, none have yet fallen from power.

The only totalitarian governments existing at present are Communist. In the past, Hitler's regime in Germany was moving toward a full totalitarian control system, but Hitler was defeated in the Second World War before he had completed the control machinery. In the future, we may expect to see new kinds of totalitarian systems based on parties other than Communist, and ideologies other than Marxism-Leninism, as groups of extremists seek total control of a nation in order to effect total change.

The denial of human rights is greatest under totalitarian dictators because there are, with few exceptions, no aspects of life, not even in sports, in the arts, or at the work place where people are allowed to direct their own activities, or to make their own decisions independent of party positions. Free speech, freedom of religion, and freedom of association are contradictory to the basic principle of totalitarianism - full control over every person's thoughts and actions. Thus the darkest end of the human rights spectrum coincides with the totalitarian extreme on the continuum of governmental forms.

Reading 2 For Topic XI

Solzhenitsyn Describes The Soviet Union

Solzhenitsyn: The Voice of Freedom
AFL-CIO Publication No. 152,
(AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006.)

Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, the Russian novelist, won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1970. He was expelled by the Soviet Union in February, 1974. On his first visit to the United States in 1975, Solzhenitsyn made two addresses under AFL-CIO sponsorship. This reading contains excerpts of those two speeches.

I.

"Workers of the world unite!" Who of us has not heard this slogan, which has been sounding through the world for 125 years? Today you can find it in any Soviet pamphlet as well as in every issue of Pravda. But never have the leaders of the Communist revolution in the Soviet Union made application of these words sincerely and in their full meaning. When many lies have accumulated over the decades, we forget the radical and basic lie which is not on the leaves of the tree, but at its very roots....

Let me remind you with what sort of system they started.

The system was installed by armed uprising.

It dispersed the Constituent Assembly.

It capitulated to Germany--the common enemy.

It introduced execution without trial.

It crushed workers' strikes.

It plundered the villagers to such an unbelievable extent that the peasants revolted, and when this happened it crushed the peasants in the bloodiest possible way.

It shattered the Church....

A system that, in the 20th Century, was the first to introduce the use of hostages, that is to say, not to seize the person whom they were seeking, but rather a member of his family or someone at random, and shoot that person.

This system of hostages and persecution of the family exists to this day. It is still the most powerful weapon of persecution, because the bravest person, who is not afraid for himself, still shivers at the threat to his family.

It is a system which was the first--long before Hitler--to employ false registration, that is, to say: "Such and such people have to come in to register." People would comply and then they were taken away to be annihilated.

We didn't have gas chambers in those days. We used barges. A hundred or a thousand persons were put into a barge and then it was sunk....

It was a system which exterminated all additional parties, and let me make it clear to you that it not only disbanded the party itself, but destroyed its members. All members of every other party were exterminated. It was a system which carried out genocide of the peasantry; 15 million peasants were sent off to extermination....

It was a system which, in time of peace, artificially created a famine, causing 6 million persons to die in the Ukraine in 1932 and 1933. They died on the very edge of Europe. And Europe didn't even notice it. The world didn't even notice it--6 million persons....!

According to calculations by specialists, based on the most precise objective statistics, in pre-revolutionary Russia, during the 80 years before the revolution--years of the revolutionary movement when there were attempts on the Tsar's life, assassination of a Tsar, revolution--during these years about 17 persons a year were executed. The famous Spanish Inquisition, during the decades when it was at the height of its persecution, destroyed perhaps 10 persons a month. In the Archipelago--I cite a book which was published by the Cheka in 1920, proudly reporting on its revolutionary work in 1918 and 1919 and apologizing that its data were not quite complete--in 1918 and 1919 the Cheka executed, without trial, more than a thousand persons a month! This was written by the Cheka itself, before it understood how this would look to history.

At the height of Stalin's terror in 1937-38, if we divide the number of persons executed by the number of months, we get more than 40,000 persons shot per month! Here are the figures: 17 a year, 10 a month, more than 1,000 a month, more than 40,000 a month....!

It's a system where for 40 years there haven't been genuine elections but simply a comedy, a farce. Thus a system which has no legislative organs. It's a system without an independent press; a system without a independent judiciary; where the people have no influence either on external or internal policy; where any thought which is different from what the state thinks is crushed....

II.

Marxism has always opposed freedom. I will quote just a few words from the founding fathers of communism, Marx and Engels (I quote from the first Soviet edition of 1929): "Reforms are a sign of weakness" (vol. 23, p.339); "Democracy is more to be feared than monarchy and aristocracy," (vol. 2, p.369); "Political liberty is a false liberty, worse than the most abject slavery" (vol. 2, p.394). In their correspondence Marx and Engels frequently said that after achieving power, terror would be indispensable, that "it will be necessary to repeat the year 1793. After achieving power, we'll be considered monsters, but we couldn't care less" (vol.25, p.187).

Communism has never concealed the fact that it rejects all absolute concepts of morality. It scoffs at any consideration of "good" and "evil" as indisputable categories. Communism considers morality to be relative, to be a class matter. Depending upon circumstances and the political situation, any act, including murder, even the killing of thousands, could be good or could be bad. It all depends upon class ideology. And who defines class ideology? The whole class cannot get together to pass judgment. A handful of people determine what is good and what is bad....

But what is amazing is that apart from all their books, communism has offered a multitude of examples for modern man to see. The tanks have rumbled through Budapest. It is nothing. The tanks roar into Czechoslovakia. It is nothing. No one else would have been forgiven, but communism can be excused. With some kind of strange deliberation, as though God wanted to punish them by taking away their reason, the Communists erected the Berlin wall. It is indeed a monstrous symbol that demonstrates the true meaning of communism. For 14 years people have been machine gunned there, and not only those who wanted to leave the happy Communist society....

The Communist ideology is to destroy your society. This has been their aim for 125 years and has never changed; only the methods have changed a little. When there is detente, peaceful co-existence, and trade, they will still insist: the ideological war must continue! And what is ideological war? It is a focus of hatred, this is continued repetition of the oath to destroy the western world. Just as, once upon a time in the Roman Senate, a famous speaker ended every speech with the statement: "Furthermore, Carthage must be destroyed," so today, with every act--detente, trade, or whatever--the Communist press, acting on secret instructions, sends out thousands of speakers who repeat: "Furthermore, capitalism must be destroyed...."

Reading 3 for Topic XI

A Description of Life In Communist China

Everyday Life in the People's Republic

Claudie and Jacques Broyelle

Quadrant, No. 136, Vol. XXII, No.11,
Nov. 1978, Box C344, Clarence Street
Post Office, Sydney 2000, Australia

There are no unemployed in China - only recalcitrant individuals, lacking in socialist consciousness.

Indeed, there is greater security of employment in China; however, one should realize how this is being achieved; it means that the Authorities can send anyone anywhere at any time, to do any work for whatever salary....

Repression is ferocious.

During the big earthquakes in 1976, the Authorities decreed that any looter caught red-handed either by two PLA soldiers or by three militia men (note incidentally the fine hierarchical tuning) should be shot on the spot without any form of trial. Mere theft was then considered as a crime against the State. A cook working in a Tientsin hospital was thus sentenced to ten years hard labour for having stolen two pumpkins.

In "normal" times repression is still severe if you compare the penalties with those imposed in Europe for similar offences. The accused person has no right to be defended; barristers - whose number was very small - were abolished by the "Cultural Revolution": how could they perform their task anyway, since there is no written law apart from the Constitution. The interpretation of the Constitution (which covers civil rights very scantily) is left to the changing whim of the Party against which the citizens are without any recourse since "citizens must support the leadership of the Communist Party of China" (art. 56)....

Any Chinese who wishes to travel beyond the boundaries of his prefecture needs an authorisation from the Revolutionary Committee of the prefecture; if his journey is to take him to other provinces, he must first obtain an authorisation from his own provincial Revolutionary Committee. These authorisations must be shown at the railway station when buying the train ticket. Without authorisation, no ticket. The authorisation, duly stamped at the railway station, can be verified at any time afterwards. For instance, it must be produced again whenever the traveler wishes to rent a hotel room, no room will be let to him without it....

At the grass-roots level, the Party supervises every working "unit"; every citizen belongs, body and soul, to one of the "units," and in this modern form of serfdom, without the permission of the authorities of his working "unit" (tan-wei), no Chinese can lift a finger, be he worker, fireman, teacher, mailman, nurse, waiter, peasant or whatever. The "unit" allocates his lodgings...The "unit" provides food coupons, theatre tickets, authorisation to visit relatives and friends living in other districts....

The leadership of the "unit" also decides whether one may marry, divorce or ever have children. Every woman planning to have a child must first apply to the authorities of her "unit," who according to the amount of other planned births, the work organisation etc., give her a serial number. Each couple is entitled to a maximum of two children. Should a third child be born, he will never be given a place at the creche, and what is worse - will be "forgotten" for years in the allocation of food coupons....

Whenever a person falls foul of the law, it is his "unit" which, in close cooperation with the Public Security authorities, carries out the investigation, mobilises public opinion against him, organises "mass accusation meetings" where the accused has to stand, head shaven and bowed, in chains, exposed to "the people's hatred," under the stage-direction of the Party - as we ourselves personally witnessed....

The Communist Party never does things by halves. Whenever it establishes a religion everyone must join in the worship; whenever it condemns heresy, everyone must hunt the witches. The use of "big character posters" on which so many Western Maoists built so many dreams, is theoretically defined as a right of democratic expression, but actually it is strictly regulated. Usually, it is the leadership of the "unit" who decides whether or not it should be used. To write and post an inscription on one's own initiative is a very risky undertaking; not to do it after the "unit" has mobilised your pen, is absolutely impossible....

Every week there is a compulsory political meeting at the workplace; the same applies to schools and even to kindergartens....

All one's political and social activity, from birth to death is carried out under the attentive eye of the "unit" - and it really is all your activity, because any discussion, any informal gathering held outside its presence is considered divisive, and therefore subversive.

You must attend a few of these meetings to gain the full measure of their power to render one infantile - those for instance held at the beginning of January where every adult, in the presence of his colleagues, in turn declares the good resolutions which he has made for the coming year "in order to render himself worthy of the Party and Chairman Mao...."

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[T]he Party authorities regularly organise "Speak-bitterness" meetings for young people. They have come to the university, where some old chap recounts the sufferings which he endured before "liberation." But these innumerable stories, every one selected to fit the Party mould, are all the same. Thus, you have the typical peasant story, the worker story, the soldier story, the old lady story and so on...It is considered good form for the students at the end of such sessions to hand a written account of their reactions to the authorities. These are called "emotion letters." In schools, classes yearly hand on to one another models of such letters, of which each student makes dozens of carbon copies. On the day when it is needed, the date, a space for which has been left blank can be filled in. Should you need a model of an "emotion letter" after hearing the story of a poor peasant, here it is. A self-criticism? here it is too. Should the case be that of an old lady, then here is just what you need....

To adhere to the Party line at a time when it was shifting constantly was indeed no easy matter. To play it safe, many adopted a neutral position. Of course, they were not let off easily; they were pressed to take a stand. In order to maintain their neutrality, their basic recipe was to proclaim unwavering fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung Thought. It was difficult to find fault with that. As for everything else, they espoused the conclusions of the People's Daily editorials. "Whenever the Party line changes, we change; it's purely a matter of speed" they confided in us. "Foreigners often make fun of the stereotypes, the formalism which reigns amongst us. They are wrong. It is no easy matter to be vague firmly. I would go so far as to say that it is a true art. What we are continually striving to do is: to speak continuously about nothing at all."

"From kindergarten to university, we must repeat the same slogans, sing the same songs - it is humiliating" a friend told us bitterly.

"By trying to regiment all our thoughts, we end up incapable of thought. Whenever we speak freely, we feel guilty. Even to keep silent is forbidden. If only one could step aside. Silence is a struggle. The right to silence should be part of the rights of man." So we were told by those who escaped to Hong Kong. They at last - after so many efforts! - were able to speak out. Will they be understood? Will Western opinion, infatuated with Maoist mythology, need another forty years to learn how to spell "Gulag" in Chinese?

Reading 4 for Topic XI

A Description Of Life Within The American Communist Party

From an essay by Richard Wright in
The God That Failed, Richard
Crossman, ed., (New York: Harper
and Brothers, 1949), pp.115-162.

Richard Wright was born in 1908, on a plantation near Natchez, Mississippi, of poor black parents. At fifteen he left home and worked for two years in Memphis where he decided to become a writer. With $150 in his pocket he went to Chicago and earned his living by doing odd jobs until the depression put him out of work. In Chicago he joined the Communist Party.

Books by Wright: Uncle Tom's Children (short stories), Native Son, Black Boy.

The "Trial" of Ross

In my Party work I met a Negro Communist, Ross....Ross typified the effective street agitator. Southern-born, he had migrated North and his life reflected the crude hopes and frustrations of the peasant in the city. Distrustful but aggressive, he was a bundle of the weaknesses and virtues of a man struggling blindly between two societies, or a man living on the margin of a culture. I felt that if I could get his story, I could make known some of the difficulties inherent in the adjustment of a folk people to an urban environment; I should make his life more intelligible to others than it was to himself....

Then political problems rose to plague me. Ross, whose life* I had tried to write, was charged by the Communist Party with "anti-leadership tendencies," "class collaborationist attitudes," and "ideological factionalism" - phrases so fanciful that I gaped when I heard them. And it was rumored that I, too, would face similar charges. It was believed that I had been politically influenced by him....

Ross's trial took place that following Sunday afternoon in 1935. Comrades stood inconspicuously on guard about the meeting hall, at the doors, down the street, and along the hallways. When I appeared, I was ushered in quickly. I was tense. It was a rule that once you had entered a meeting of this kind you could not leave until the meeting was over; it was feared that you might go to the police and denounce them all.

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* Wright drew on his notes for the story "Big Boy Leaves Home," published later in an anthology.

Ross, the accused, sat alone at a table in the front of the hall, his face distraught. I felt sorry for him; yet I could not escape feeling that he enjoyed this. For him, this was perhaps the highlight of an otherwise bleak existence....

A member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party rose and gave a description of the world situation. He spoke without emotion and piled up hard facts. He painted a horrible but masterful picture of Fascism's aggression in Germany, Italy and Japan.

I accepted the reason why the trial began in this manner. It was imperative that here be postulated against what or whom Ross's crimes had been committed. Therefore there had to be established in the minds of all present a vivid picture of mankind under oppression....

The next speaker discussed the role of the Soviet Union as the world's lone workers' state—how the Soviet Union was hemmed in by enemies, how the Soviet Union was trying to industrialize itself, what sacrifices it was making to help workers of the world to steer a path toward peace through the idea of collective security.

The facts presented so far were as true as any facts could be in this uncertain world. Yet not one word had been said of the accused, who sat listening like any other member. The time had not yet come to include him and his crimes in this picture of global struggle. An absolute had first to be established in the minds of the comrades so that they could measure the success or failure of their deeds by it.

Finally, a speaker came forward and spoke of Chicago's South Side, its Negro population, their suffering and handicaps, linking all that also to the world struggle. Then still another speaker followed and described the tasks of the Communist Party of the South Side. At last, the world, the national, and the local pictures had been fused into one overwhelming drama of moral struggle in which everybody in the hall was participating. This presentation had lasted for more than three hours, but it had enthroned a new sense of reality in the hearts of those present, a sense of man on earth. With the exception of the church and its myths and legends, there was no agency in the world so capable of making men feel the earth and the people upon it as the Communist Party.

Toward evening the direct charges against Ross were made, not by the leaders of the Party, but by Ross's friends, those who knew him best! It was crushing. Ross wilted. His emotions could not withstand the weight of the moral pressure. No one was terrorized into giving information against him. They gave it willingly, citing dates, conversations, scenes. The black mass of Ross's wrongdoing emerged slowly and irrefutably.

The moment came for Ross to defend himself. I had been told that he had arranged for friends to testify in his behalf, but he called upon no one. He stood, trembling; he tried to talk and his words would not come. The hall was as still as death. Guilt was written in every pore of his black skin. His hands shook. He held on to the edge of the table to keep on his feet. His personality, his sense of himself, had been obliterated. Yet he could not have been so humbled unless he had shared and accepted the vision that had crushed him, the common vision that bound us all together.

"Comrades," he said in a low, charged voice, "I'm guilty of all the charges, all of them."

His voice broke in a sob. No one prodded him. No one tortured him. No one threatened him. He was free to go out of the hall and never see another Communist. But he did not want to. He could not. The vision of a communal world had sunk down into his soul and it would never leave him until life left him. He talked on, outlining how he had erred, how he would reform.

I knew, as I sat there, that there were many people who thought they knew life who had been skeptical of the Moscow trials. But they could not have been skeptical had they witnessed this astonishing trial. Ross had not been doped; he had been awakened. It was not a fear of the Communist Party that had made him confess, but a fear of the punishment that he would exact of himself that made him tell of his wrongdoings. The Communists had talked to him until they had given him new eyes with which to see his own crime. And then they sat back and listened to him tell how he had erred.

He was one with all the members there, regardless of race or color; his heart was theirs and their hearts were his; and when a man reaches that state of kinship with others, that degree of oneness, or when a trial has made him kin after he has been sundered from them by wrongdoing, then he must rise and say, out of a sense of the deepest morality in the world: "I'm guilty. Forgive me...."

Reading 5 For Topic XI

Definition of Democracy

International Education: Values and Perspectives On Four Human Rights, Teachers Edition. (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Teachers), p. 19.

In a political democracy, the leaders of the national government are chosen in free elections with serious competition among candidates of differing viewpoints. Usually, officials of varying levels of local government are similarly elected. Therefore, the ultimate power of deciding who shall rule is in the hands of the people. "Popular sovereignty" is the basic principle of a political democracy.

The rule of law is also a fundamental operating principle of a democracy. The leaders chosen by the people do not govern arbitrarily, but in accordance with the laws passed by the people's legislative representatives. Democratic peoples insist on a "government of laws, not men." The laws must also be applied fairly and consistently by the courts in a democratic nation. For a true democracy to prevail, care must be taken to ensure the impartiality and objectivity of the judicial process in cases involving political opponents of the incumbent government, nonconformists whose beliefs contradict prevailing social mores, or members of minority racial, ethnic, or religious groups.

A third pillar of political democracy is human rights. Although there is a wide variety of specific rights, they can, nonetheless, be placed in one of three general categories:

1. freedom from governmental violation of the integrity of the person, e.g. torture;
2. fulfillment of vital needs such as food, shelter, education and health care; and
3. freedom to enjoy civil and political liberties...the right of due process and a fair trial, freedom of association, freedom of the press and the right to vote.

Every individual is deemed to possess these rights by birth, and the rights are defined as "inalienable." Under democratic majority rule, not even an overwhelming majority of citizens may deprive even one unpopular individual of his rights. This check inhibits the majority from misusing its power against the minority.

Because respect for human rights is an integral part of the democratic system, the brightest part of the human spectrum is found at the most democratic end of the continuum of governmental forms. In democracies, freedom of speech, religion, association, and due process of law are generally secure from infringement by government. While no democratic nation has a perfect record on human rights, the general observance of those rights is far better in any democracy than in any dictatorship.

TOPIC XII - THE TERRORISM OF THE EXTREME LEFT

Student Aim - How does the extreme left use terrorism to further its aims?

Instructional Objectives

1. Students will learn about the terrorism practiced by the extremist left in the United States.
2. They will learn about the international character of the extreme left's terrorism.
3. They will realize that the common goal of all terrorists in the West is to destabilize and destroy democratic societies.

Approach

1. Remind the class of the statement by Leon Trotsky that they read in Topic X:

> Terror as the demonstration of the will and strength of the working class is historically justified...
>
> Leon Trotsky
> *Izvestia*, Jan. 10, 1919.

Ask the class to define terror. Their definition should include the following points:

- Intense overpowering fear
- The ability to instill such fear: a terrifying object or occurrence
- Violence toward private citizens, public property and political enemies promoted by a political group to achieve or maintain supremacy.
- Terrorism - The use of terror, violence, and intimidation to achieve an end.

2. Ask - Why did Trotsky consider terror to be "historically justified"? - (It had resulted in the victory of communism in Russia.)

3. Note that all the founding fathers of Marxism-Leninism had sanctioned the use of terror to achieve revolutionary change.

   - Ask the students to recall Lenin's statement that "power [is] based upon force and limited by nothing -- by no law and by absolutely no rule," and Mao's that -- "political power arises out of the barrel of a gun." (See Topic X).

4. Indicate that the purpose of the lesson is to learn more about the terrorism of the extreme left.

Development

1. Distribute to the class Reading I for Topic XII: The Left Terrorists In The United States. In the discussion of the reading include the following points:

   - The terrorists of the left have built bombs and anti-personnel devices.

   - They have bombed buildings and murdered people; above all, policemen.

   - There is a connection between the American terrorists and Cuba -- the Cuban Mission serves as a liaison for those who are underground, and Cuba has given Americans weapons training.

   - The terrorists appear to have considerable financial resources.

   - While underground, terrorists have received support from the American government they hope to overthrow through such programs as welfare.

   - The Weathermen are not of the working class, the class that Trotsky designated as the logical revolutionaries. Rather, they are white, middle-class college graduates. Note how the Weathermen attempt to rationalize this.

   - The purpose of leftist terrorism is to destabilize and destroy American democracy.

   - Note the Decter charge that Americans do not take seriously the idea of a revolution being fomented by the left. Discuss with the class.

2. Refer the class to the last paragraph of the Daily News article which mentions a variety of extremist left groups outside the United States.

   - Note how they have been given training in the Soviet Union, while American extremists have trained in Cuba.

   - All of the extremist left groups subscribe to the same Marxist-Leninist philosophy. All desire the destruction of the Western democratic societies.

3. Distribute to the class Reading 2 for Topic XII: International Terrorism of the Left.

   - In the discussion of the reading include the following points:

     - Three targets of international terrorism are Western democracy, Israel, and Jews.

     - The Soviet Union plays a pivotal role in international terrorism -- it gives support directly, as well as indirectly through its satellites and friends.

     - Terrorists deliberately target civilians and non-combatants for shooting, bombing, kidnapping and murder. This is the difference between terrorism and guerilla warfare.

     - Terrorists have claimed a large number of victims in Europe and the Middle East.

     - Americans abroad, and American property abroad, have been the targets of terrorists.

     - Experts on terrorism fear that the United States may increasingly become the scene of terrorist action by international terrorists.

Summary-Application

Refer back to the definition of terror discussed at the start of the lesson.

- How have the terrorist groups of the left used terror?

- What success have they had?

- How have they failed?

- Why have they failed?

Readings for Topic XII

1. The Left Terrorists In The United States

   A. Thomas R. Brooks, To The East Of The Communist Party--Addenda, 1981: The Weathermen.

   B. Excerpts from Midge Decter "Notes From The American Underground," Commentary, January 1982.

   C. Marcia Kramer, "Terrorism: International Connections?" New York Daily News, October 25, 1981.

2. International Terrorism Of The Left--ADL Special Report: Terrorism's Targets: Democracy, Israel and Jews (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1981).

Reading 1 for Topic XII

The Left Terrorists In the United States

A.

To The East Of The Communist Party -- Addenda, 1981: The Weathermen

Thomas R. Brooks

Perhaps the most significant development of the decade among left extremists was the organization of a terrorist infrastructure by the Weathermen.

In July, 1969, the leaders of the Weathermen faction of the Students for a Democractic Society went to Cuba to meet with Vietcong and North Vietnamese representatives. "We understood," they reported in a special supplement of the SDS newspaper, New Left Notes, "that the reason the Vietnamese called the meeting was to get us moving against the war again....Kick ass is the main message we brought back from the meeting."

To "Bring the War Home," the Weathermen called for a "national action" for October 8-11, 1969, in Chicago. The night before, they set off their first bomb (acknowledged later), which damaged the Haymarket police memorial statue in Chicago. The riots that developed became known as the "Days of Rage."

Having failed to spark "another Vietnam" on the streets of Chicago as a result of the firmness of the Chicago police, the Weathermen called a "War Council" in Flint, Michigan, from December 27-30, 1969. As the Liberation News Service (LNS), reported at the time: "Weathermen see revolutionary change in America as happening almost solely, if at all, as a belated reaction to a successful world revolution including a successful revolt by the black colony inside the U.S."

"We're about being a fighting force alongside the blacks," the LNS quoted Bernardine Dohrn as saying. "We have to get into armed struggle."

What this entailed, the LNS reported, "is terrorism. Political assassination...and literally any kind of violence that is considered anti-social were put forward as legitimate forms of armed struggle."

During the heated "psyching" sessions of the War Council, Weathermen reveled in concepts of "barbarism" and praised the mutilation and murder of actress Sharon Tate, eight months pregnant, by the Manson gang. As Bernardine Dohrn put it, "Dig it, first they killed those pigs, then they ate dinner in the same room with them, then they even shoved a fork into a victim's stomach. Wild!"

At the close of the Flint War Council, some forty Weathermen leaders facing riot and other criminal charges went "underground."

The making of shrapnel-packed anti-personnel and pipe bombs commenced. According to a New York Times editorial of October 23, 1980, the Weathermen were responsible for a minimum of twenty bombings (including that of the U.S. Capitol) and several deaths. Their allies of the Black Liberation Army were responsible for numerous attacks on the police. In one 1971 incident, BLA members shot and severely wounded two police officers guarding the home of the Manhattan District Attorney prosecuting the Panther 21 on conspiracy and bombing charges. Two days later two New York City policemen were ambushed and murdered.

The Weathermen attracted national attention when a "bomb factory" in a Greenwich Village townhouse on West 11th Street blew up. Three terrorists--Ted Gold, Diana Oughton and Terry Robbins--were killed. Cathy Wilkerson and Kathy Boudin escaped, fleeing, reportedly to Czechoslovakia with the aid of members of the Cuban U.N. Mission. Other Weathermen fugitives also utilized the Cuban Mission as one of the points of contact through which they could keep in touch with one another.

Above-ground Weathermen organized Venceremos Brigades to visit Cuba to cut sugar cane and engage in other revolutionary tasks as well as to get a glimpse of the revolutionary paradise. Some 5,000 are estimated to have traveled to Cuba on VB-related trips. Members of the Brigades who asked for training in "armed struggle" have received training in explosives, the use of automatic weapons and other firearms, and in clandestine organization and communications.

Starting in the late 1970's, wanted Weathermen began to turn themselves in, or, as they like to phrase it, chose "inversion." Clearly, they counted on statutes of limitation, judicial leniency and the skills of their defense attorneys for light or suspended sentences, probation, or just plain forgiveness.

Some, however, chose to remain underground. On October 20, 1981, outside a bank in Nanuet, New York, armed killers including members of the Weather Underground opened fire without warning, killing a Brink's guard. A chase ensued and in a shootout near Nyack, two police officers were also killed. Four of the robbers were taken into custody. Within a few days, five other people were arrested and one was shot dead in another gunfight with the police. In all, some 15 were indicted for the crime. All were members of either the Weather Underground or of several black separatist organizations, notably the Black Liberation Army.

Supporters of the Weathermen remain active on the West Coast through the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee and on the East Coast through the May 19 Communist Organization.

B.

Excerpts from Notes From The American Underground

Midge Decter

Commentary, Jan. 1982, pp. 27-33.

One day in 1969 a twenty-two-year-old Swarthmore graduate named Jane Alpert--dressed, as she recounts in her recently published memoirs,* in her white kid gloves and adorned with a ladylike touch of make-up--traveled on a New York City bus downtown to the Federal Building in Foley Square and there planted a time-bomb on the 40th floor. The 40th floor was occupied by the Department of the Army. Back home in her East Village apartment huddled a group of five accomplices anxiously awaiting the outcome of her mission. Some time earlier, members of this group had stolen a supply of dynamite from a construction lot and had commenced to manufacture bombs. One building, headquarters of the Marine Midland Bank, had already been bombed...but for a number of reasons that action had been deemed a failure. At two a.m. on the following day, the moment at which the device had been timed to go off, the group was on the roof of her apartment building ready to witness her triumph with binoculars. The Federal Building suddenly went dark, indicating that the bomb, placed in a closet housing electrical equipment, had indeed gone off successfully. At that moment, Miss Alpert remarks in the Sunday-supplement tone that is characteristic of her book throughout, "my joy was undiluted."

She was, as the world may remember, soon after to be taken into custody by the FBI....

She was also to jump the $20,000 bail supplied by her distraught but loyal parents and to spend some four years traveling in the American radical underground, abetted and supported by parents, friends, friends of friends, and strangers....

Late in 1974 she gave herself up, was sentenced to 27 months in jail, 18 for her part in the bombing conspiracy and 9 for jumping bail (later she was given an additional 4 months for contempt of court). In all, she was to spend two years in jail. Following which, inevitably, she set out to write a book, with the encouragement and support among countless others of her now considerably poorer but still stalwart family.

Given the normal constraints, and longueurs of book publishing, it has to be seen as a coincidence--though, of course, the kind of coincidence for which publishers do not in their wildest moments of optimism dare to hope--that Growing Up Underground should have appeared just at the moment when the world was being given fresh and urgent reason to think about the American radical underground again.

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* Growing Up Underground, Morrow, 1981, 372 pp.

What happened was that some twelve years after that first moment of Jane Alpert's undiluted joy, a group of radicals, composed of an as yet undetermined number of members of the Weather Underground, the Black Liberation Army, and perhaps other fugitive groups, took part in a murderous and unsuccessful attempt to rob a Brink's truck outside a bank in Nanuet, New York. The details of this robbery bespeak an attempt both bloody-minded and amateurish, culminating, at a fatal shoot-out near Nyack, in blazing guns, zooming cars, hysteria, and panic. By the time the operation was over, a Brink's guard and two policemen were dead and four of the robbers were in custody. (Within a few days, five other people were to be arrested and one shot dead in a gunfight with the police.)

Aside from the killings and the extent of the conspiracy uncovered--bomb factories were found in at least two places, one in New Jersey and one in the Bronx, along with possible connections, between this robbery and recent others like it--what made the events in Nyack particularly electrifying was the social news they carried. Three of the four people apprehended at the scene were famous radicals of the late 60's and early 70's: Kathy Boudin, perhaps the most famous, who had been forced underground in 1970 when the Greenwich Village townhouse in which she and her friends were making bombs blew up, killing three young would-be bombers; Judith Clark, who had served some months in jail for having taken part in an anti-police, anti-war rampage in Chicago, called the "Days of Rage," in 1969 and whose conviction had later been overturned on the ground that the evidence against her was illegally obtained; and David Gilbert, thought to be the father of Miss Boudin's one-year-old son, who was wanted for assaulting a policemen in Colorado and who had been working in New York under an assumed name as a furniture mover. In the persons of these three particularly, followed within days by Jeffrey Jones and Eleanor Raskin, two other familiars from the early 70's, the Weather Underground had somehow come home at last.

Others, of course, had already been caught and had served prison terms of various lengths, mostly brief. Like Jane Alpert (who was not strictly speaking a member of the Weather Underground), some had given themselves up a few years earlier. Mark Rudd, of Columbia revolution and "Days of Rage" fame, came back to the straight world in 1977; he was fined $2,000 and given two years' probation. Cathy Wilkerson, daughter of the man whose house had been blown up in Greenwich Village, surfaced in 1980. She is serving a three-year term. And most recently, there were Bernardine Dohrn and William Ayers. Like Kathy Boudin, Bernardine Dohrn had been a leading spokesman of the group and remained a leader underground; she, too, was fined and put on probation. William Ayers by the time of his return was a free man, the charges against him having been dropped some years ago.

A number of others, dearly wanted by the police, remain at large. Prominent among these is Marilyn Jean Buck, suspected of involvement in the Nyack operation and otherwise notable for being both "quartermaster" and the only white member of the Black Liberation Army. (How high a distinction this continues to be is somewhat questionable. There are many indications, including the racial mixture of the Nyack team, that various underground groups, black and white, have lately coalesced to some degree.) Even more prominent is Joanne Chesimard, reigning spirit of the Black Liberation Army, who escaped in a bold and efficient manner after being sent to prison for the murder of a state trooper and who has successfully eluded a dogged police hunt every since....

In 1975...three highly regarded film-makers, Emile de Antonio, Mary Lampson, and Haskell Wexler made a film called Underground, for which they spent several days, presumably underground themselves, filming and taping a group of five Weathermen: Kathy Boudin, William Ayers, Bernardine Dohrn, Jeffrey Jones, and Cathy Wilkerson. The five were pleased to expound freely and at length on their views. From the transcript, it is clear that their interviewers had many sympathetically challenging questions to ask, about the townhouse explosion, about the bombing of the Capitol, about the fear of being apprehended, and about how a white, middle-class group could be revolutionaries. (In answer to this last, put by de Antonio, there is a brief lecture on the distinction between "class origin"--something the group requires a "lifetime struggle" to overcome--and "class stance," that is, their voluntary fealty to the workers of the world.) Underground was no first-run hit, but on the other hand neither did it become a public scandal by virtue of any "horror" it elicited in the community of the Left....The film was no doubt taken, in the words of the Soho News editorial introduction to the transcript, as "a remarkable public record of [the Weathermen's] private passion for making history." It was given to Jeffrey Jones to define, in the film, the nature of the history referred to. "No revolution," he says, "can take place successfully without an armed confrontation with the state...."

The point is that those living underground received considerable support, moral and otherwise. On both coasts and in between there were enclaves in which they could move about at ease; there were houses virtually everywhere in which they found shelter; and above all, there was money, money to travel out of town, to travel back, to keep a rendezvous in some far-off bus station, money for cars, money for bail. There was enough money so that Jane Alpert, for example, never did not know where her next meal was coming from....

Multiply needs of this kind forty- or fifty-fold, and again by eight, nine, or ten years, and it becomes clear that those underground were not sustaining themselves simply by sharing their meager resources, commune-style, nor were they simply being helped along now and then by their old friends in the East Village. There is no unimpeachable answer, for the present, to the question of whether the American terrorist underground was being funded to any extent by unnamed foreign groups or governments. The FBI says no; other experts say yes. The question is in this particular content irrelevant anyway. What is relevant is that given the need for cars, guns, explosives, safe houses, and other assorted paraphernalia, along with food, shelter, drugs, and a good deal of crosscountry transport, somebody had to be shelling out...and somebody was. Including, it does not seem trivial to point out, the federal, state, and local governments against whom the underground claimed at the time to be leading an armed insurrection....

The radical youth movement for whatever reason, was out to destroy the system and with it the country. They said so, and behaved accordingly. That they failed says something about their own lack of skill and even more about our stability but nothing whatever about their intentions. By the system, they meant capitalism, republican democracy, and the American way of life. They sought to render us chaotic within and unable to defend ourselves without.

There is nothing innovative about this and nothing that need take our breath away; it is the standard agenda for revolution. Kathy Boudin and her friends remained loyal to it.

Revolution is something Americans are fated, or blessed, to think of light-mindedly. Everything -- a new piece of technology, an evanescent demographic datum, a change of manners, a shift in ethnic political balance, even a move to the country -- has at one time or another been heralded as a "revolution." One the other hand, faced with the actually revolutionary, we blind ourselves and call it something else -- either innocent idealism or insanity. Revolution as a political fact, though we have in our lifetime witnessed an every-accelerating number of them, in countries near and far, we have somehow not permitted to penetrate our consciousness of reality....

C.

Terrorism: international connections?

New York Daily News
October 25, 1981

By MARCIA KRAMER

TODAY, as Kathy Boudin sits in a jail cell in Rockland County, she may finally have achieved her fondest ambition: the opportunity to confront the system she hates so much.

But when she does finally face that system—a judicial process which is part of what she labels the "imperialist state"—she will be in shackles, dressed in dowdy light blue prison denims and facing a charge of murder. She will be on the inside looking out, not an outside agitator trying to foment unrest within the system.

"Revolutionaries are created in struggle and not through protest or persuasion," she wrote in the early days, just before she went underground in 1969 to mastermind a nationwide terrorist campaign to overthrow "the system."

And by all accounts she still maintains a tenacious hold on those early beliefs, although she wasn't above using the system when it suited her purposes. Why else would she have applied for and received for herself and her 18-month-old son $177.75 every two weeks in city public assistance since March 1980? Isn't going on welfare taking advantage of the system?

KATHY BOUDIN'S 12-year underground odyssey—which took her to Canada, Cuba, Moscow and even Manhattan for a 1974 clandestine meeting with Patty Hearst and members of the Symbionese Liberation Army—raises a lot of questions. There are questions about how Boudin spent those unaccounted-for years, where and with whom.

And there are questions about the terrorist organization itself. Was the Weather Underground linked to such other terrorist groups as the Black Liberation Army, the Black Panthers, the FALN and the Symbionese Liberation Army, as law enforcement intelligence sources have suspected all along? What do they really want to do? Do they want to "destroy the system"? If so, what would be the criteria for sucess?

But probably the most important question for law enforcement officials is whether there is a Cuba connection, which in accepted intelligence parlance means a Moscow conection—a Communist connection. Have Kathy Boudin and other members of her new terrorist group, the May 19 Coalition, receieved money and support from the KGB or the Cuban inteligence arm, the DGI (which is run by the KGB)?

Neil Herman, a spokesman for the FBI office here, which is heavily involved in the Boudin case, issued a terse "no comment" when VIEW asked him on Friday if the bureau had any evidence to suggest foreign involvement in the activities of the terrorist group. He admitted, though, that in the past "those avenues were explored."

HOWEVER, Washington FBI sources told the Daily News that Cuban intelligence agents, posing as United Nations diplomats here, have maintained regualr contact with Weather Underground members. The members have gone to Cuba for training, and have checked in regularly with the DGI. In fact, a few years ago one cell of Weather Underground members was criticized by DGI for talking too much and not taking bold enough action.

And of course there's the little matter of the film "The KGB Connections: An Investigation into Soviet Operations in North America," which was produced in Canada and has been broadcast by the Canadian Broadcasting Corp., the BBC and Swedish television but so far screened only privately in the United States.

Of particular interest in the documentary is an interview with former Weather Underground member Larry Grathwohl. His comments indicate that the Cuban government knows at all times where every Weather Underground member (read American revolutionary) is hiding out. He says that any time members became cut off from others in hiding they merely telephoned the Cuban embassy in either Canada or Mexico and identified themselves by a special code name.

An intelligence officer with the embassy then would arrange to put them in touch with the members of the Weather Undergrond they were seeking, who were also identified by code names.

This involvment of Russian and Cuban spies in the Weather Underground has even darker implications in light of evidence last week linking Boudin and the Weather Underground men to convicted cop-killer Joanne Chesimard, known as the "soul" of the Black Liberation Army, as well as a string of bank robberies, bombings, cop-shootings and other sensational crimes.

Specifically, members of the Joint Task Force on Terrorism were reported to either have established links, or to suspect links, between the May 19 coalition and the following:

- The bloody $200,000 Brink's armored-car ambush last June 2 in the Bronx, in which one guard was killed and another wounded by three gunmen.
- The ambush of two city cops in St. Albans, Queens, last April 17. One policeman was killed and another wounded.
- The May 2, 1973, killing of State Trooper Werner Foerster by a group of suspected BLA members.
- The subsequent escape of Chesimard, who was convicted of Foerster's murder, from Clinton (N.J.) state prison on Nov. 2, 1979.
- Last month's bombing to protest tour of the Springboks, the South African rugby team.
- And then there is the even more startling belief that the members of Boudin's May 19 coalition include not only former Weathermen, but BLA militants, Black Panthers and other revolutionaries.

Is it possible that foreign money bought the guns and the bombs for the those terrorist activities?

Funny, in the past, people snickered at the suggestion that Russian spies were trying to create unrest and revolution here in America—the land of the free. But recent evidence that Italy's Red Brigades, Germany's Baader-Meinhof gang, Palestine Liberaton Organization commandos and Libyan terrorists have all been trained in the Soviet Union give new credence to the idea.

Marcia Kramer, a reporter for The News, has been covering the story of Katherine Boudin's capture.

Reading 2 for Topic XII

International Terrorism Of The Left

ADL Special Report: Terrorism's
Targets: Democracy, Israel and Jews
(New York: Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith, 1981,) pp. 8,9,11,
16,17,34-36.

TERRORISM'S 'FIRST DIMENSION'

--DESTRUCTION OF DEMOCRACY

The evidence of events and the findings contained in an ever-growing bibliography of scholarship, journalism and intelligence indicate clearly that...the terrorists who today practice their political violence across national boundaries are committed to the undermining, the destabilization and the ultimate destruction of Western-style democracy....

It should surprise no one that the major territories of democratic freedom around the world have been the main targets of terrorist assault. To the Marxist-Leninist and Communist-oriented arms of the "Red" terrorist international, the Western democracies, especially those in the U.S. and Western Europe, represent bastions of "bourgeois" capitalism, "imperialism," and "colonialism" whose walls must be toppled.

A massive body of documented evidence proves that the "infrastructure" of the "Red" terrorist international receives vast support from the Soviet Union directly, and indirectly through its satellites in Eastern Europe, Cuba, and South Yemen, via its ally in Libya, and that the PLO, itself a Soviet surrogate, plays a pivotal role in the "Red" terrorist international.

To the anarchists and nihilists among the "Red" terrorists -- such as the Red Army Faction and the Italian Red Brigades -- and to followers of such ideologues of political violence as Frantz Fanon and Carlos Marighella, capitalist democracies represent the "establishment," the oppressive state, and the very authority they seek to destroy.

It was Fanon, a psychiatrist, who wrote in "The Wretched of the Earth" that political violence was excellent therapy for oppressed peoples. Marighella was the "prophet" of so-called "urban guerrilla warfare" -- terrorism in cities, not rural areas -- and his 1969 "Mini-Manual for Urban Guerrillas" remains the bible of many "Red" terrorists....

TERRORISM'S 'SECOND DIMENSION'

-- DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL

This commitment, bolstered by the fact that Israel itself is a parliamentary democracy and a strategic ally of the United States, constitutes the "Second Dimension" of today's international terrorism.

To "Red" terrorism's Marxist-Leninists, as to the anarchists and those weaned on Fanon and Marighella, Israel is a "tool," an "agent" and an outpost in the Middle East of Western -- specifically, American -- "imperialism" and "colonialism." Israel is branded by them as "racist" and as a "neo-colonial settler state" that must be destroyed.

To the PLO, perhaps Moscow's key surrogate in the "Red" terrorist international, as to the Kremlin's Libyan ally, Qadaffi, and the Soviet's Syrian client -- and to Iraq -- Israel is the hated "Zionist entity" which must be wiped from the map. They and the entire Arab world have waged a "Thirty-Year War" to destroy Israel that bound them together until Anwar Sadat's historic action in November, 1977. Then he, too, became their enemy.

To the Soviet Union, without whom the "Red" terrorist international and its Arab arms could not function, Israel is an obstacle to further Soviet penetration of the Middle East. It is, further, a useful propaganda target to be exploited in Soviet efforts to maintain geopolitical support from the groups in the terrorist international it has helped to forge, which it continues to arm and to foster, and for which it provides political and diplomatic support in the international arena.

If the destruction of Israel is not at the top of the Soviet agenda, it nevertheless seems apparent that in the eyes of the Kremlin today, Israel is totally expendable....

TERRORISM'S 'THIRD DIMENSION'

-- ANTI-SEMITISM

The "Third Dimension" of international terrorism today -- the often-overlooked and almost-hidden ingredient in the ideological glue of transnational political violence -- is anti-Semitism: the hatred of Jews, as Jews.

This hatred of Jews is perhaps the oldest sociological disease of the Western world -- a political virus whose deadly manifestations wax and wane from decade to decade and from century to century, yet that lives on as a presence in country after country around the globe, even including countries where no Jews are to be found and some where Jews have never been.

Today, as so many times in the past, anti-Semitism is being utilized as a political instrument in the assault...against Western democracy and against Israel.

Yet Jews are a target in their own right. Formidable propaganda engines...are mounting...campaigns against them....They provide the seedbeds for terrorism and political violence in which Jews are special victims, whether at Antwerp...in Israel, or in other countries around the world.

In 1979, U.S. Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, declared that "anti-Semitism has become a unifying global ideology of the totalitarian Left." He said that "the intense propaganda campaign begun by the Soviet Union" had been "embraced and echoed by radical regimes the world around." It was, Senator Moynihan declared, an attempt by the Kremlin to brand "'imperialism,' the supposed enemy of the new states of the world," as "a creature of an international Zionist conspiracy...with the clear implication that Jews played a special role in perpetuating the alleged injustices of international capitalism."

Senator Moynihan said that "it would be tempting to see in this propaganda nothing more than bigotry of a quite traditional sort..." But, he added, the "campaign is not uninformed bigotry, it is conscious politics. We are dealing here not with the primitive but with the sophisticated, with the world's most powerful propaganda apparatus--that of the Soviet Union and the dozens of governments which echo it. Further, this fact of world politics creates altogether new problems for those interested in the fate of democracies in the world, and of Israel in the Middle East. It is not merely that our adversaries have commenced an effort to destroy the legitimacy of a kindred democracy...It is that others can come to believe it also...."

CONCLUSION

Confusion has...given rise to the...cliche that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" -- a superficial piece of nonsense which has gained a certain currency and acceptance and that has tended to undermine Western efforts to develop a firm and unified response to the international terrorism that threatens the Free World.

There is no hard evidence that this catch-phrase is Soviet inspired "disinformation" calculated to sow confusion. Yet it may be significant that the ultimate enormity flowing from it was uttered as recently as March 9, 1981, by PLO leader Yasir Arafat, the man who meets weekly with Soviet Ambassador Soldatov in Beirut. An Associated Press dispatch from Turin, published on that date by the "Washington Post," quoted the Turin daily, "La Stampa," as reporting that Arafat had asserted that "George Washington was a terrorist" to the British at the time of the American Revolution. The PLO chieftain also asserted that the late Charles deGaulle was a terrorist to the Nazis.

Since Arafat is not stupid, whatever else he may be, it seems highly likely that there was method in his seeming madness and that his purpose -- and that of his Soviet mentors -- was to sow confusion and to spread "disinformation."

It is not without significance, moreover, that the very same assertion had been distributed a month earlier by Tass, the official Soviet news agency, in an attack on Secretary of State Alexander Haig.

History does not record that George Washington, acting with cold calculation, deliberately killed innocent women and children. He was not a terrorist.

"Armed struggle" waged by so-called "national liberation" movements can include guerrilla warfare -- paramilitary fighting waged against conventional military forces. Calculated political violence against civilians, non-combatants and innocent bystanders, however, is terrorism.

The line between guerrilla warfare and terrorism can often be blurred and so-called "national liberation" movements frequently engage in terrorism, or end up engaging in terrorism only.

Whatever its political objectives, however, an armed group or organization which deliberately targets civilians and non-combatants for shooting, bombing, kidnapping, murder or assassination -- or all of them -- is engaged in terrorism, nothing more, nothing less.

Terrorism: An American Problem

Although the territorial United States has been relatively free of the kind of terrorist action that has traumatized the democracies of Western Europe and Israel, more than one-third of the terrorist actions between 1968 and 1980 were directed at U.S. citizens or installations around the world. Americans have been victims in roughly 40% of all such actions in that time, even when they were not prime targets.

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), in various studies on international terrorism covering the period since 1968, has noted an "established pattern" by terrorists "of striking at symbols of Western power" and has described Americans as "the primary target...." U.S. diplomats and businessmen -- the quintessential symbols of Western and American influence -- have been among the main special targets of international terrorism since U.S. record-keeping on the subject began in the watershed year of 1968.

Five American ambassadors have been killed in the line of duty by terrorist actions since 1968. Until that year, not a single U.S. envoy had ever been killed since the founding of the U.S. foreign service. Other U.S. envoys have been targets of terrorist actions that failed or were thwarted, among them former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Secretary of State Haig, while he was serving as NATO commander. Since 1968, U.S. diplomatic personnel of all ranks have been killed, wounded, raped or, as in Iran, have been held hostage in fear of their lives.

Experts on terrorism have been predicting for some time that the continental United States itself will increasingly become the scene of terrorist action.

The CIA Issues Its Report

In June, 1981, the CIA issued its annual report on international terrorism....

It noted an increase in government-sponsored terrorism and named the Soviet Union, Libya, South Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Cuba and Iran as being involved. It emphasized that the Soviet Union is "deeply engaged in support of revolutionary violence" which, it added, "frequently entails acts of international terrorism." In the Middle East, the agency said, the Soviets support Libya, itself a major supporter of terrorist groups, as well as "a number of Palestinian groups that have conducted terrorist operations." In Latin America, the report added, "Moscow relies heavily on Cuba -- which provides guerrilla and terrorist groups with training, arms, sanctuary and advice -- to advance Soviet interests."

The CIA's report indicated that since 1968, there have been 6,714 incidents of international terrorism in which 3,668 persons have been killed and 7,474 wounded. The agency said that in 1980, there were 760 incidents that caused more casualties than in any other year. Of these, 278 incidents were directed against Americans, 178 of them against U.S. diplomats and businessmen, that caused 10 deaths, 94 injuries and damage to U.S. property in 97 of the episodes.

The report also noted the sharp increase in right-wing terrorism in Europe during 1980 and declared that the Bologna and Munich bombings "rank among the worst terrorist incidents ever recorded." The CIA added that while the dead and injured in those two episodes were included in its statistics, "most terrorist activity by right-wing groups will remain domestic in nature and thus will not be reflected in our statistics."

Ends and Means

Twentieth Century international terrorism is the ultimate result of perhaps the most pernicious political concept in human history -- the notion that the end justifies the means. Many terrorists, moreover, confuse ends and means so that killing becomes an end in itself.

In the last dozen years, international terrorism has touched every continent save Antarctica. It has victimized thousands of human beings of many nationalities, every race, and most religions. They have been traumatized by fear as prisoners and hostages or have been wounded, maimed or murdered by terrorists committed to the use of calculated violence to achieve political objectives.

Overwhelmingly, the victims of international terrorism are not policemen or uniformed soldiers. The victims are civilians and non-combatants -- politically uninvolved and innocent bystanders who suddenly find themselves in harm's way. They are and have been ordinary men, women, children and old people engaged in the everyday peaceful pursuits of ordinary human beings -- working fields, factories, shops and offices in scores of countries, amusing themselves in public places, traveling on business or on holiday at airports, railroad stations, or on passenger jets, or sightseeing on tourist buses. The victims include families asleep in their beds, walking on the streets, browsing in shops, and children at school, going there, or returning home.

No one outside the Communist world is safe, certainly not the citizens of the Western democracies, certainly not the citizens of Israel, and certainly not Jewish citizens anywhere.

Topic XIII - The Common Elements of Extremism of the Left and Right

Student Aim - What beliefs and behaviors do extremists of the left and right share?

Instructional Objectives

1. Students will learn that left and right extremism share the following beliefs:

   - hostility to democratic ideas
   - faith in conspiracy theories
   - anti-Semitism
   - enmity to Israel

2. They will learn that left and right extremism share the following behavior:

   - violence and terrorism
   - slavish adherence to a party line
   - actions aimed at the destabilization and destruction of our democratic system

Approach

1. Read the following quotation to the class:

> In our movement the two extremes come together: the Communists from the Left and the officers and students from the Right. These two have always been the most active elements, and it was the greatest crime that they used to oppose each other in street fights. The Communists were the idealists of socialism; through the years of persecution they saw their mortal enemy in the officer; while the officers fought the Communists because they inevitably saw the mortal enemy of their fatherland in the proletarian led astray by the Jew. Our party has already succeeded in uniting these

> two utter extremes within the ranks of our storm troops. They will form the corps of the great German liberation movement in which all without distinction will stand together when the day comes to say: The nation arises, the storm is breaking!
>
> Adolph Hitler as quoted in Konrad Heiden, Der Fuehrer (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1944), p.147.

2. Discuss the quotation.

   - Note that both the extreme left and the extreme right wanted the destruction of the German democratic government.

   - What other beliefs do you think they had in common?

3. Let us analyze in greater detail the common beliefs and behaviors of extremists of the left and right.

Development

1. Distribute to the class Reading 1 for Topic XIII: Some Similarities Between The Extreme Left And Right. In the discussion of the reading include the following points:

   - Neither the extremists of the left or of the right permit any freedom of thought, any flexibility, any openness to ideas. There is, instead, a slavish adherence to the party line, an unquestioning following of orders, an intolerance of any form of legal opposition.

   - Both the extremists of the left and of the right are bigoted. However, the objects of their bigotry differ. The reading mentions the extreme right's hatred of Jews and blacks. They also oppose black, Hispanic, and Oriental immigrants in the United States; migrant workers in Europe. They are white supremacist and supportive of middle class values and attitudes.

     The extremist left, in addition to targeting organized religion, as mentioned in the reading, regards business and the middle class as the enemies. As we shall see later in the topic, the extreme left is now as anti-Semitic as the extreme right. However, the leftist extremists see themselves as the champions of the black, Hispanic, and Oriental minorities, who they insist are oppressed and ripe for revolution.

- Both subscribe to a large variety of conspiracy theories. Note the Thayer statement that extremists see every act of history as part of some conspiracy. Refer students to the discussions of the dangers of believing in conspiracy theories in Topics I and V.

- Both wish to destroy our democratic society, and do not hesitate to use any means to do so. Both have dreams of accomplishing their objective through the efforts of a disciplined elite, a "vanguard" party.

- Both use violence and terror. Thayer, writing in 1967, speaks of "dirty tactics" and "take-over bids." Point out to students that the terrorism of the left as described in Topic XII is now considerably more than just "dirty tactics." The violence and terror of the right in the United States, e.g., the Ku Klux Klan, has always been much more than just "dirty tactics."

2. Ask the class to recall the violent crimes of the American hate groups, which have included both attempted and successful bombings of schools, community centers, businesses, and houses of worship. Luckily, in most cases, the local police and federal agents have succeeded in arresting hate group members before there was any large loss of life. In Europe, on the other hand, the extremists of the right, who have links with American hate groups, have engaged in terror operations very much like those of the left terrorists in Europe and the Middle East that have taken a large number of lives. If we do not continue to be vigilant, such terrorism could happen here in the United States.

3. Distribute to the class Reading 2 for Topic XIII: Terrorism of The Extreme Right In Europe; It's Links To The Extreme Right In The United States; It's Links To The Terrorist Left. In the discussion of the reading include the following points:

   - The European neo-Nazis and neo-fascists have committed acts of terror aimed at destabilizing democratic governments in Europe. They have also engaged in anti-Jewish violence and terror.

   - There are links between the European extremists and the National States Rights Party and the Liberty Lobby in the United States. (See Topic I for descriptions of these two groups.)

   - The left and right terrorist groups in Europe cooperate with one another. Call the attention of the students to the statement by the editor of the right-wing journal Quex: "A revolutionary is closer to us, under any circumstances, than a conservative." Compare with the Hitler statement analyzed at the start of the lesson. Note that this reading also discusses the alliance between Nazis and Communists to overthrow the Weimar Republic.

- Both right and left terrorists desire the destruction of Israel, and work closely with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

4. Ask the students to note the statement in the reading: "For the ...'Black' networks...it has sufficed that Israel is a Jewish state."

   - Discuss. Refer students to Topic V for additional material on the anti-Semitism of the extremist right.

   - Let us analyze in greater detail why the extremist left opposes Israel.

5. Distribute to the class Reading 3 for Topic XIII: The Opposition of the Extremist Left To The State Of Israel. In the discussion of the reading include the following questions:

   - What are the reasons for the extremist left opposition to Israel?

   - How does the extremist left demonstrate its enmity toward Israel?

6. Note the point made by the author of the reading that there is not sufficient recognition of the threat posed by the extremist left. Compare with Midge Decter's statement that Americans do not take the idea of a leftist revolution seriously. (Reading 1-B for Topic XII).

7. We mentioned earlier that the extremists of the left are now as anti-Semitic as those on the right. What are the reasons given in the reading? (That Jews are viewed as part of the "capitalist" class, and as supporters of peaceful, democratic change, rather than "revolutionary" change.)

   - Let us study the anti-Semitism of the extremist groups of the left in greater detail.

8. Distribute to the class Reading 4 for Topic XIII: The Status Of Jews In The Communist Countries. Let us begin with the anti-

Semitism present in countries that already have Marxist-Leninist governments. In the discussion of the reading include the following points:

The Soviet Union

- There is an almost total ban on any form of Jewish cultural life.

- Although Communism is militantly atheistic, and all religions are disadvantaged, the Jewish religion is treated far more harshly than any other.

- There is a constant anti-Semitic atmosphere which is abetted by the media.

- Jews are restricted from entering certain professions. Supplement the readings by telling the class that very few Jews are now being admitted to the universities, and that in addition to the professions mentioned in the reading, Jews are no longer being permitted entrance into many scientific and technological areas.

The Other Communist Countries of Eastern Europe

- Most of the restrictions present in the Soviet Union can be found in the other Communist countries. There are some exceptions. There is a rabbinical seminary in Hungary attended by a small number of students from the various Communist countries. In Rumania, there is a Chief Rabbi, and a freer Jewish cultural life is permitted.

- Poland, which has a long history of anti-Semitism, is using Jews as scapegoats to deflect attention from the government's repressive actions. This is a role Jews have played in Poland many times before. There are only 6,000 Jews, mostly elderly, left in Poland, as compared to a pre-Holocaust population of 3 million.

9. Discuss with students the fact that anti-Semitism in eastern Europe pre-dates the Communist takeover of that area. For additional information students can consult Reading 3 for Topic V: What is Anti-Semitism?

10. Ask students how they think American Jews would be treated by leftist extremists, if such extremists gained control of the United States. How would the extreme right treat Jews if they gained control? For additional information on the attitude of the

American extremist left towards Jews distribute to the class Reading 5 for Topic XIII: The Anti-Semitism Of The Extremist Left In The United States. In the discussion of the reading include the following points:

- In addition to their opposition to Israel, American extremist groups of the left are also bigoted against American Jews.
- They regard American Jews as members of the hated "bourgeoisie," and as "reactionary" obstacles to "revolutionary progress" in America.
- They castigate American Jews for supporting Israel.
- The extremist left uses the same formulations of Jewish conspiracy as the extremist right.

11. Note the final statement in the reading. Why is the demand for Israel's destruction by the extremists viewed as the ultimate anti-Semitism?

Summary

1. Ask the students to prepare 2 lists: 1) The major characteristics of the hate groups of the right, 2) The major characteristics of the extremist groups of the left.
2. Place the 2 lists arrived at after class discussion on the blackboard. Draw lines between the characteristics the extremists have in common.
3. Prepare 2 more lists: 3) The major characteristics all extremists have in common, 4) the ways in which the extremists of the right and left differ.

Application

In 1970, the Tacuara neo-Nazi group in Argentina split into several factions. Some remained part of the extremist right; others, however, became part of the extremist left. Why was this possible?

Readings For Topic XIII

1. Some Similarities Between The Extreme Left And Right - George Thayer, The Farther Shores of Politics (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967).

2. Terrorism Of The Extreme Right In Europe; It's Links To The Extreme Right In The United States; It's Links To The Terrorist Left - ADL Special Report: Terrorism's Targets: Democracy, Israel And Jews (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1981).

3. The Opposition Of The Extremist Left To The State Of Israel - Frances M. Sonnenschein, Outline Of Jewish History (New York, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith).

4. The Status Of Jews In The Communist Countries

   A. From: The Profile of Communism: A Fact-By-Fact Primer (New York Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961).

   B. From: Nathan Glazer, et al., Perspectives On Soviet Jewry (New York: Academic Committee On Soviet Jewry and The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1971).

   C. Again, Jews As Scapegoats - Jack Anderson, The Washington Post, January 5, 1982.

5. The Anti-Semitism Of The Extremist Left In The United States - Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, The New Anti-Semitism (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1974).

Reading 1 For Topic XIII

Some Similarities Between The Extreme Left And Right

George Thayer, The Farther Shores of
Politics (New York: Simon and
Schuster, 1967), pp.541-545

The similarities between the left and the right are particularly close. Both sides see the major threat to the country as internal: the Marxists talk of "Wall Street" and "the Establishment"; the [right]...of "Comsymps" and "traitors." Their vision is apocalyptical, where the world is on the verge of an explosion unless their particular brand of solutions be adopted. They have deep-seated prejudices bordering on bigotry: the Marxists are anti-clerical in general...the right harbours anti-Semitic and anti-Negro sentiments. Both sides oppose the United Nations, NATO, UNESCO, the bipartisan approach to resisting the nation's enemies, the existing economic policies and the internal security measures. They would have the country revert to an older order: "pure" Marxism-Leninism on one side, unfettered laissez-faire capitalism on the other. Few concrete proposals are offered by either side to alleviate the existing inequities other than the vaguest of platitudes. Usually both talk in terms of repealing existing laws, the dismantling of various institutions and the destruction of our basic rights. In both camps there exists the attitude of the avenger--destroy the old and build the right. Both sides are calling for a war of one kind or another.

The same type of people are drawn to the left and the right: dogmatic, totalitarian and radical. Many, in the words of G.K. Chesterton, glow with the memory of tomorrow afternoon. The character traits are so similar that there exists the phenomenon of individuals moving from one end of the spectrum directly to the other without pausing in the middle on their way...They express the "freedom" they seek by slavishly following orders from the top. They refuse to believe that America can not only exist but actually prosper by being flexible, pragmatic, reasonable and democratic. This, to both left and right, is sheer heresy.

Both sides are intolerant of the idea of a legal opposition. (I never met a right-winger who knew an active Communist nor a Marxist who knew anyone on Wall Street.) The members are incapable of articulating their criticism within the framework of rational discourse and civic responsibility. Both exploit the cult of martyrdom for all it is worth: the left has its Smith Act "victims," the Rosenbergs and Caryl Chessman; the right has General Edwin Walker, John Birch, Povl Bang-Jensen and Peter Fechter, and so on. Both camps advocate dirty tactics - infiltration, front groups, the smear, take-over bids and general harrassment. They both have literary outlets for the propagation of the faith, and both have an in-group language all their own....

Most of all, they both suffer from a conspiracy complex. The Marxists see devious plots being hatched by the "Wall Street Internationalists," the "Establishment," the "White Power Structure" and the "Vatican Conspiracy"; the right talks darkly of the "Communist Conspiracy," the "ZIP (Zionists in Power) Code Conspiracy," "Mental Health Conspiracy," the "One World Conspiracy..." and so on....Undoubtedly there have been, there are and there will continue to be conspiracies in this world, but what distinguishes the left and the right from political moderates is that the fringes see virtually every act of history as part of some conspiracy....

Many...[extremist] leaders will claim that as a group they do not need to grow, that all they require is a disciplined elite loyal to the cause. They view their organizations as fulcrums capable, at the proper moment, of toppling the present power structure and replacing it with their own order. Among right-wing groups this attitude is known as the "Hitler complex" and among left-wing groups as the "Lenin complex." They believe that if Hitler and Lenin could, with a handful of men, topple the old order, then they too can do the same thing. Since the Nazis and the Bolsheviks both rode to power on the backs of a crisis, these fringe groups similarly seek or predict such a crisis which will elevate them to the position they believe they deserve. Thus the apocalyptical vision looms large in their thoughts.

Reading 2 For Topic XIII

Terrorism Of The Extreme Right In Europe; It's Links To The Extreme Right In The United States; It's Links To The Terrorist Left

ADL Special Report: Terrorism's Targets: Democracy, Israel and Jews (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1981), pp.2-4, 8-12, 22-23.

Terrorism Of The Right In Europe

Bologna, August 2, 1980

-- A massive bomb shattered the railroad station at Bologna, a busy terminal at a major Italian rail crossroads, in what has been called the most dreadful terrorist attack on the European continent since the end of World War II. The blast killed 76 persons and wounded some 200 others, 17 critically, in the station which was filled with hundreds about to start their annual summer holidays....A phone call shortly after the explosion claimed responsibility for the Armed Revolutionary Nuclei (NAR), an Italian neo-fascist organization....The call claiming NAR responsibility included the words "Honor to Comrade Tuti" -- a reference to Mario Tuti, a neo-fascist who had been sentenced to life imprisonment for killing two policemen.

The Bologna railroad station blast came two days before the sixth anniversary of another railroad bombing during 1974 for which eight neo-fascist suspects had been indicted by a court only two hours before the terminal was shattered. Tuti was one of the eight suspects....

Munich, September 26, 1980

-- [A] bomb exploded near an exit at the "Oktoberfest" in Munich as crowds were leaving at closing time. It killed 12 persons and injured more than 200 others. Eyewitnesses said victims were hurled high into the air, that some had arms and legs blown off, and that blood was everywhere. Officials said 100,000 persons had been on the grounds that night. The perpetrator, Gundolf Koehler, 21, was himself killed by the blast. He was identified as a member of a West German neo-Nazi paramilitary organization led by Karl-Heinz Hoffmann, an outspoken admirer of Hitler; the group is called the "Military Sports Group Hoffmann...."

Paris, October 3, 1980

-- ...On the evening of October 3, during Sabbath services attended by some 300 worshippers who filled its sanctuary, the Rue Copernic synagogue in

Paris was the target of a bomb that exploded in the street outside. Four persons were killed, a dozen injured. The carnage might have been greater, but the services lasted longer than usual. Had they ended at their usual time, the hundreds of congregants would have been on the street when the bomb went off. A telephone call to Agence France Presse claimed responsibility in the name of the "Faisceaux Nationalistes Europeans" (FNE) Nationalist European Front--a French neo-Nazi group headed by Mark Frederiksen and successor organization to the National Federation of European Action (FANE), which was outlawed by the French Government on September 3, 1980.

The Rue Copernic bombing was the sixth episode of anti-Jewish violence in Paris within the space of one week. The previous weekend -- the same one that witnessed the Oktoberfest bombing in Munich -- five Jewish institutions in the French capital were the targets of machine-gun fire -- two synagogues, a school, a day-care center, and a monument in memory of Jewish victims in World War II. The FNE also claimed responsibility for those attacks....

* * * *

The Links Between European And American Extremists Of The Right

Among those...who have been at Dixmuide [a city in Belgium where neo-Nazis gather once a year to honor Belgians who died fighting for Hitler] are J.B. Stoner and Edward Fields of the Georgia-based "National States Rights Party" (NSRP), an anti-Semitic and racist organization that blends aspects of neo-Nazism and Ku Klux Klanism in a unique amalgam. In October, 1980, the NSRP was host to four leaders of the Belgian VMO [neo-Nazis] for a conference in Atlanta; protests to the State Department by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith led to the prompt expulsion of the four Belgian neo-Nazis.

-- The NSRP has also played host to John Tyndall, a longtime British neo-Nazi and a leader of the National Front in the United Kingdom.

(Stoner was convicted during 1980 for involvement in the bombing of a black church in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1958, and was sentenced to 10 years in prison by an Alabama court. He has been free on bond pending appeal.)

Stoner was at Dixmuide in 1976; Fields was there in 1975 and 1977. While in Europe, both spoke before neo-Nazi groups in Great Britain and met with leaders there. In 1976, Stoner spoke at a meeting of the League of St. George and met Michael McLaughlin, leader of the British Movement, in Liverpool; Stoner also addressed a London meeting of the National Front.

Fields was one of the eight main speakers at the Dixmuide gathering in 1977 and addressed four meetings of the National Front at various locations in England: London, Manchester and Dewsbury. He also met personally with Tyndall.

In 1979, Fields was again in Britain and addressed the National Front; shortly thereafter, Tyndall made a trip to the U.S. where he was hosted by the NSRP.

In the August, 1979, issue of "Spearhead," publication of the National Front, Tyndall wrote that on his "American Journey" throughout the South, he had met with other like-minded activists and propagandists....In Washington, D.C....he gave an interview to a radio station run by "Liberty Lobby...."

Liberty Lobby is a major arm of the "Black" propaganda network in the United States and publishes "Spotlight," a tabloid newspaper. It is run by Willis Carto, perhaps the most important anti-Semitic propagandist in the United States. Carto himself maintains contact with similar propagandists around the world and is currently a leader of the international Holocaust Revisionism campaign being carried out by the anti-Semites of the "Black" propaganda network.

* * * *

TERRORISM: 'RED' AND 'BLACK'

The Links Between The Terrorist Right And The Terrorist Left

The "Red" and "Black" networks are most often referred to in the mass media as "left-wing" or "right-wing." Such terminology reflects the concept of politics as a spectrum, running from extreme left, to left-of-center, to center, and on to right-of-center and extreme right.

Many astute political observers, however, long ago noted that in reality the range of political ideologies and organizations is more accurately depicted as a circle in which the extremes meet, or even overlap. In fact, anti-democratic political extremists, such as Nazis, fascists, and Communists have far more in common with one another, in their shared commitment to totalitarianism, than they have with democratic ideologies and organizations that stand between them on the political circle and are committed to individual freedom and to liberal or conservative principles within democratic and constitutional frameworks....

Although there are major differences, what the world today is witnessing resembles -- on a transnational scale -- what occurred in the German Weimar Republic during the late 1920s and early 1930s. In that period, both Hitler's Nazis and the German Communists mounted assaults aimed at overthrowing the Republic by violent disorders. Their aim was to destabilize German society and to undermine the authority and the legitimacy of the State by discrediting its ability, real or perceived, to control the course of events.

Whether -- and if so, to what extent -- there was any conscious cooperation between the Nazis and the Communists may be a subject for argument among historians, but there is little doubt that their activities against the Republic reinforced both; extremists feed on each other. There is no argument that the destruction of the Weimar Republic was a common goal of each. And in 1933, as Hitler came to power, the German Communists were proclaiming: "After Hitler -- us."

So, today the "Red" and the "Black" terrorists wage war against democracy and so do the array of anti-democratic propaganda apparatuses that undergird each of the networks. And there are efforts underway to unify the "Red" and the "Black" anti-democratic assault.

'Nazi-Maoism'

In an article headlined "A Wave of Neo-Nazi Terror" that followed the terrorist events at Antwerp, Bologna, Munich and Paris late in 1980, Newsweek magazine of October 13, 1980, reported from Italy:

> "Professor Paolo Signorelli, a radical rightist, has publicly called for the 'union of revolutionary forces from the left and right in a single popular movement.' And Mario Guido Naldi, editor of the right-wing journal "Quex," says icily, 'You have to remember that a revolutionary is closer to us, under any circumstances, than a conservative.'"

Signorelli, imprisoned shortly after the Bologna railroad station explosion on charges of participating in armed bands, is a leader of a "Black" group in Italy called "Third Position." "Quex" supports fascists imprisoned for serious crimes and political violence, including Mario Tuti, the "Black" terrorist accused with the seven others of responsibility for the 1974 railroad bombing.

The Economist of London, in a dispatch from Rome carried in its issue of October 11, 1980, put it this way:

> "One new group, Quex, believes in the curious amalgam of Nazi and Maoist views preached by Mr. Franco Freda who was condemned to life imprisonment for his role in planting a bomb in Milan in 1969. Another, Third Position, favors a joint struggle with the far left against Italy's democracy. And the Armed Revolutionary Nuclei, which are thought to have planted the Bologna bomb, seem to have links with far-left terrorism. Some of their members and weapons appear to have originated on the left...."

Among the neo-Nazis and neo-fascists of Europe, the commitment to the destruction of Israel long pre-dated the formation of the PLO for that purpose by the Arab League in 1964 and the emergence of the "Red" terrorist international, starting in 1968.

For the Nazis and the fascists of the 1950s and 1960s, as for their successor groups in today's "Black" networks of propaganda and terrorism on the European continent, in Britain and Scandinavia, in the U.S. and elsewhere, it has sufficed that Israel is a Jewish state -- in fact, the Jewish State, and the only such state on the face of the globe.

In her 1981 book, "The Terror Network" (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Reader's Digest Press, New York), veteran reporter Claire Sterling, who spent almost three years researching international terrorism, notes that with substantial support from Qadaffi's Libyan treasury and the ready cooperation of European neo-Nazis and neo-fascists, the PLO in 1969 and in the early 1970s was able to get needed support from the "Black" groups on the continent. This support paralleled and intertwined with the support that the Arab Palestinian terrorists, especially Habash's PFLP, were beginning to receive from the "Red" network in Europe.

By then, as Mrs. Sterling points out, the "Black International" operated from a central headquarters and its ideological roots in Hitler's Nazi era were revealed in its name: European New Order. The group sought to pull together the Nazi and fascist remnants of the Third Reich and Mussolini's regime, and similar leftovers from prewar and wartime Nazi and fascist movements, she writes; it included "a kind of homogenizing Nazi-Maoist formation" that urged "open collusion with the Red International in their common interest." It was symbolized in a slogan that called for the elimination of "imperialzionism" -- an appropriate term that embodied both the "Red" and the "Black" commitment to the destruction of capitalist democracies -- imperialism -- and the Jewish State of Israel.

"Imperialzionism" as a target and as a slogan was coined, Mrs. Sterling writes, at the first of a series of "summit" meetings held by neo-Nazi and neo-fascist groups in the "Black International" to mobilize support for the Arab Palestinian terrorists. The meeting -- of the European New Order -- was held at Barcelona on April 2, 1969. Two recruiters were present for Arafat's Fatah, largest of the terrorist factions linked under the PLO umbrella.

The Barcelona meeting, Mrs. Sterling notes, discussed fund-raising, organizing an efficient flow of weapons, providing ex-Nazi military instructors to help train the Arab terrorists, recruiting Europeans to beef up Fatah units in the Middle East, and "'collecting elements disposed to collaborate in acts of sabotage in Europe....'"

There were, Mrs. Sterling indicates, several other "Black summits" for the Arab terrorists after Barcelona. These took place at Paris on March 28, 1970; at Munich September 16, 1972 -- ten days after the PLO's "Black September" hit team massacred 11 Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympic Games; and at Rome's Hilton Hotel on March 9, 1974.

At the Paris meeting, Mrs. Sterling reports, Jean Roberts Debbaudt, a Belgian ex-officer in Hitler's Waffen SS, then leader of the neo-Nazi Rexist Party (and more recently a leader of the "Mouvement Social Belge"), offered to place his group "'totally and unconditionally at the service of the Palestine Resistance.'"

At the 1972 Munich summit, 600 delegates cheered Black September to the rafters. The gathering there called itself the "First National European Congress of Youth" and was described as the largest Nazi-Fascist meeting in Europe since the end of World War II. Delegates handed out propaganda extolling Sirhan Sirhan, the Arab Palestinian who killed Senator Robert Kennedy; the propaganda poster, "suitably printed in red and black," as Mrs. Sterling drily notes, bore a picture of Sirhan behind bars with the caption, "'I did it for my country'" and with the added caption "'But the true culprit, Zionism, is still at large.'"

Reading 3 For Topic XIII

The Opposition Of The Extremist Left To The State Of Israel

Frances M. Sonnenschein,
Outline of Jewish History
(New York, Anti-Defamation
League), pp.160-161

The Attitude of the Radical Left on the Question of Israel's Survival

1. The Radical Left - Definition
   a. A loose coalition of groups in existence in all the Western democratic countries.

   b. Espouse a class-struggle theory of history in which the victims of racial discrimination and/or poverty in the Western world, in concert with a coalition of third world countries, will destroy the capitalist democratic societies of the United States, Western Europe and Japan.

   c. In their place "socialist" societies would be set up which would in reality be totalitarian systems with no civil or political rights, much like those existing in large portions of the world today with names which often include the words "People's Republic."

2. Throughout the 1960's opposition to the Vietnam War was the prime object of Radical Left organizations throughout the world. (Though obviously not all opponents of the war were radical leftists.)
   a. Fervent support of the North Vietnamese as an "authentic" third world nation engaged in an "anti-imperialist" struggle.

   b. Fervent hatred of the United States as a "capitalist, imperialist entity."

3. As the Vietnam War began to wind down the attention of the Radical Left shifted to the Arab-Israeli conflict.
   a. The Middle East conflict became the new Vietnam.

   b. The Arab States became the new North Vietnam, the Arab refugees became the new Viet-Cong, Israel became the new "imperialist entity."

4. The reasons for the new Anti-Israel emphasis of the Radical Left.

   a. Both the Soviet Union and China support the Arabs.

      (1) Russia has a heavy stake in the Arab world, having invested vast sums in military and economic aid.

      (2) China, in an attempt to wean the Arab world away from the Soviet Union outdoes the Russians in its anti-Israel rhetoric.

      (3) Thus, all shades of the radical spectrum, whether pro-Soviet or pro-Chinese can agree on an anti-Israel position.

   b. The United states supports Israel

      (1) The Radical Left's most important objective is the destruction of the United States, the prime example of a democratic, capitalist society.

      (2) The destruction of a democratic state with close ties to the United States, and through whom America can exercise influence in the Middle East is an excellent way of diminishing America's power and position in the world.

   c. To strike against Israel also a way of striking against Jews in general.

      (1) Jews viewed as part of the "affluent, smug, white, capitalist class" that "oppresses" the racial minorities.

      (2) Jews with their liberal attitudes and voting patterns viewed as obstacles to the growth of revolutionary consciousness by their perpetuation of the "myth" that progress can be achieved peacefully through normal democratic processes.

5. The Radical Left began a campaign of active opposition to Israel.

   a. Disseminated literature and films full of anti-Israel invective, provided speakers to advance the Arab cause, actively proselytized on university campuses.

      (1) The Arab world of military dictatorships and feudal sheikdoms making billions of dollars each year from their oil characterized as "authentically revolutionary third world peoples."

      (2) The Israeli democratic, egalitarian society that had won its independence only after years of anti-imperialist struggle,

and was still being denied the right to exist, characterized as a "totalitarian, imperialist state."

b. Its urban guerrilla groups made physical attacks on Jews and Jewish-owned property in Western Europe and Latin America.

c. Other groups trained together with Arab terrorists and then conducted attacks on Jews in Israel and other areas of the world either alone or together with Arab terrorists.

6. The greatest danger from the Radical Left is that large numbers of the liberal community still fail to see it as a threat not only to Jews and Israel, but also to the entire democratic system.

    a. The Radical Left is an outgrowth of the New Left of the 1960s. It accepted the countercultural ideas and values of the New Left and added to them a class-struggle theory of history.

    b. An entire generation of college students in the Western world raised on New Left ideas. Now taking their place in key roles in society. Have a great tolerance toward groups which still use much of the rhetoric the college students grew up with.

    c. As a result, liberal commentators and publications at times echo Radical Left anti-Israel statements without analyzing their true import.

Reading 4 For Topic XIII

The Status Of Jews In The Communist Countries

A.

From: The Profile of Communism:
A Fact-By-Fact Primer (New York:
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai
B'rith, 1961), pp.94-99

What Is the Background of the Status of the Jews in the Soviet Union?

For about three decades very little came to light about the real situation of Jews in the Soviet Union. The world took at face value the Soviet legal code's definition of anti-Semitism as a crime. No special importance was attached to the indifference with which the Soviet government, in common with other governments, watched first the persecution and then the extermination of the Jews in Hitler's Germany. The borders of the "socialist fatherland" were not opened to Jews.

Following the partition of Poland by Hitler and Stalin, the Soviet government barred the escape of hundreds of thousands of Jews fleeing eastward before the onrushing Nazi hordes. And it deported hundreds of thousands of Jews from its own "sphere of influence" in Poland to slave labor in the interior of the U.S.S.R.

What Has Happened to Jewish Institutions in the U.S.S.R.?

After World War II, the position of Soviet Jews deteriorated rapidly. Jewish schools were closed. The teaching of Yiddish and Hebrew was discontinued. All Jewish organizations were dissolved and all periodicals and publications dealing with Jewish problems were suppressed. A purge of Jewish intellectuals was carried out. Relations between Soviet Jews, who were warned not to identify themselves with Israel, and Jewish communities in other parts of the world, were forbidden. Large numbers of Jews were forcibly deported for slave labor in the interior of Russia.

All of this happened in Stalin's last years, from 1948 to 1953, which were known throughout the Soviet Jewish community of 3,000,000 as the "Black Years."

Though the violence, and the threat of even more of it, ended with Stalin's death, no change has occurred in the status of Soviet Jewry: official Soviet facts and figures reveal a pattern of anti-Jewish policies, of differential treatment in cultural and religious affairs, of discrimination in education and government employment, of denigration of the Jew's social image, of scarcely concealed anti-Semitic prejudices.

What Is the Status of Jewish Culture in the U.S.S.R.?

Once the matrix of much of Jewish culture, the great Soviet Jewish community is utterly deprived of any means to express itself in creative terms. Yiddish writers may have some of their manuscripts published in Russian translation, but are not allowed to appear in their own language, for Yiddish publishing houses are forbidden. So are the Yiddish press, theatre, schools, newspapers and every other aspect of organized Jewish culture....

How Is Anti-Semitism Officially Expressed...?

There is a concerted propaganda campaign in the Soviet press and radio to single out Jews and Judaism for special opprobrium....

This campaign follows a definite pattern. In one strand, the Jewish religion is denigrated and vilified; it is shown to be linked with the vicious twins of "bourgeois nationalism" and Zionism, both of which are intimately associated with "Western imperialism and its Israeli puppet."

A second strand perpetuates the traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes of Jews as anti-social types.

The two together create an image of the Jews and Judaism as virtually disloyal and potentially treasonous to the Soviet state.

What Is the Status of the Jewish Religion in the U.S.S.R?

Communism is militantly atheistic in ideology and practice and all religious groups are seriously disadvantaged in the Soviet Union. But even in religion the Jews are singled out for discriminatory treatment.

They are allowed no Chief Rabbi and, unlike the other religious groups, no central, nation-wide organization of religious congregations....Many communities are forbidden to have synagogues, or even to have damaged synagogues repaired. In many communities, synagogues have actually been closed down by police force, private prayer meetings forbidden, and many religious practices, such as the baking of matzos and ritual slaughter of animals for kosher food consumption, prohibited.

What Is the Soviet Attitude Toward Zionism?

In classic communist doctrine, Zionism is a "counter-revolutionary movement of the Jewish bourgeoisie," which divides the working class along nationalist lines and imperils their revolutionary unity. Zionism has long been persecuted in the U.S.S.R. In Palestine the communists incited pogroms by the Arabs against the Jews.

However, during the struggle of the Jews against the British in Palestine after World War II, the Soviet satellites encouraged emigration to Israel, in order to weaken British power in the Near East. The Soviet Union, however, prevented emigration of "its" Jews.

Subsequently, when the state of Israel was created, and resisted Soviet domination, Soviet policy toward Zionism hardened again.

What Is the Soviet Attitude Toward Israel?

The Soviet regime is violently hostile to Israel for two reasons: foreign policy and domestic policy.

Its foreign policy in the Middle East dictates a close relationship with the Arab countries, and this has led the U.S.S.R. to demonstrate its hatred for Israel both in terms of propaganda and in terms of enormous military aid to build up the Arab armed forces.

Domestically, the Soviet need to present Israel in the worst possible light is based on the official assumption of the alien, hostile and suspect character of its Jewish citizens and on the concomitant conviction that Israel would serve as a magnet to attract Soviet Jews. In consequence, the Soviet press is full of vitriolic denunciations of Israel, of its way of life and conditions of living, and of its alleged alliance with the "imperialists."

What Has Happened to Jewish Institutions in the Satellite Countries?

The bulk of the 6,000,000 Jews who were slaughtered by the Nazis during World War II lived in the countries that subsequently became Soviet satellites. After the war, the remnants of those communities slowly began to rebuild their communal and cultural institutions. This painful process was cut short soon after the communists attained power in the satellites.

Generally, throughout the satellites, all formerly independent Jewish religious, educational and social activities have been nationalized and are operated by communist party members or have been abolished. All Jewish political parties have been dissolved. The number of Jewish schools is dwindling. In some countries the teaching of Hebrew is forbidden....

Jewish charity organizations, including orphanages, children's homes and hospitals have been liquidated. Jewish foreign relief organizations have been ousted. Jewish papers are permitted to publish only communist views. Government spies sit in the synagogues, many of which have been invaded and desecrated....

B.

From: Nathan Glazer et.al.
Perspectives On Soviet Jewry
(New York: Academic Committee
on Soviet Jewry and The Anti-
Defamation League of B'nai B'rith,
1971), p.6

We are concerned with more than the atmosphere of anti-Semitism, with the covert encouragement that it regularly receives from the state-controlled mass media. We are concerned with what it means for Russian Jews to live in this atmosphere of suspicion, ridicule, denunciation. It is clear from the many conversations between visitors to Russia and Russian Jews that many feel the force of such an atmosphere, leading to circumspection, fear, painful choices when the individual Russian Jew decides how much of a Jew--and in what way--he dares to be.

We are concerned too with the actual restriction of the opportunities of Jews. In the practical spheres of life, they have for twenty years or more found various branches of public service and professional activity restricted. How far this restriction extends it is hard to say - Russia is not an open society. But Jews in Russia are aware of it. The counts by Soviet experts of officers in the Foreign Service, the armed services, of Russian scholars going abroad, all suggest this restriction is severe.

We are concerned with the almost total ban on any form of Jewish cultural or communal expression - the almost total absence of Jewish schools, except for a minuscule and decaying Rabbinical seminary, the absence of teaching materials in Yiddish and Hebrew, the failure to print Hebrew Bibles, the refusal to countenance more than one Jewish publication for a community of three million, the severe restrictions on religious observance, the drying up of the forms of Jewish expression, whether in Hebrew, Yiddish, or Russian. The carefully doled out reprinting of occasional Yiddish classics is no substitute for the rich Jewish life--radically restricted as it was politically by the Communist government--that existed until 1949, and was then brutally, and before its time, cut off.

Finally, we are concerned about that ultimate limitation in freedom that afflicts Russian Jews as it afflicts all Soviet citizens--the freedom to leave, and to search for a better life elsewhere.

C.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JANUARY 5, 1982

JACK ANDERSON

Remaining Jews In Poland May Be Scapegoats

An ugly development is being monitored in the confidential cables from Poland. The military regime might be setting up Poland's tiny Jewish population as scapegoats for the misery that is sweeping across that tragic land.

The estimated 6,000 Jews remaining in Poland—mostly the elderly, pitiful survivors of the Nazi Holocaust—represent no threat to the regime. But they can be useful in the historic role of Jewish minorities in Europe—to deflect attention from corrupt, repressive regimes during times of public discontent.

The evidence so far is inconclusive. But the Polish authorities appear to be playing the Machiavellian game of blaming Solidarity for the anti-semitic attacks, thus discrediting the labor union, while at the same time suggesting that Solidarity is itself a nest of "Zionists."

Just 10 days after martial law was imposed upon Poland, the State Department cabled U.S. embassies in Warsaw and Vienna to watch for indications that the reported anti-semitic incidents were centrally coordinated.

"We would appreciate your giving Polish publications and Warsaw radio broadcasts special scrutiny for signs of anti-semitism," the cable requested.

The next day, the Vienna embassy cabled back a report that anti-semitic leaflets indeed have been circulating in Poland. The leaflets were described as inflammatory.

One leaflet slyly tried to hit the Polish masses where they live. It contained "a reference to Jews not having to stand in line to receive seven pounds of kosher meat a week," the embassy cabled. The pathetic Jews in Poland are more likely to be found at the end of the food lines, but the report would cause resentment among a populace that has to stand in line for hours in hopes of getting its meager meat ration.

The confidential diplomatic cables disclose that a major distributor of anti-semitic leaflets is the so-called "Grunwald Group"—an ultra-nationalist, possibly neo-Nazi organization that surfaced last year as a counterforce to Solidarity.

Sources told my associate Lucette Lagnado that the Grunwald Group was set up with the approval of the communist authorities—not the first time Lenin's disciples have set aside ideological purity for the sake of expediency. Anyway, its recent activities obviously have the military regime's blessing.

Grunwald's anti-semitic propaganda leaflets have been sent abroad bearing a Gdansk postmark, "in an apparent effort to discredit Solidarity," the cable from Vienna reported. (Gdansk was the birthplace of Solidarity.) Since the declaration of martial law, the embassy cable noted, "this could not have been done—because of censorship rules—without the connivance of hard-liners in the Politburo . . ."

As for the source of the anti-semitic poison, the Vienna embassy cabled that the leaflets emanate from "a neo-Nazi movement in Sweden, which smuggled the leaflets into Poland."

The State Department investigation is being pursued primarily by the Human Rights Bureau under its newly appointed chief, Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams.

The department's experts see no signs yet that Poland's Jewish community is in any physical danger, but they can't be certain whether respect for world opinion would lead the communist regime to protect its Jews in the event of "spontaneous" outbursts ignited by the anti-semitic hate literature. In its attempt to paint Solidarity as both anti-semitic and Jewish-dominated, the Polish government may have sown the wind—but it is Poland's Jews who will reap the whirlwind.

Reading 5 For Topic XIII

The Anti-Semitism Of The Extremist Left In The United States

Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, The New Anti-Semitism (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1974), pp.128, 140, 142, 143, 147, 148, 152

Spearheading the Radical Left's anti-Israel, anti-Zionist campaign in America and lending its unflagging support to the Palestinian guerrillas is the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the party of the Trotskyist communists, together with its wide array of publications and affiliated organizations. The most important of the latter is the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).... Support for the Palestinian revolutionaries and opposition to Israel early received a higher priority in the activities of the Trotskyists than among most of the other parties and organizations of the far left....

...Although the SWP claims to be offended by the charge that it is anti-Semitic, its record of animosity toward Jews--in America no less than in Israel--is clear. To be sure, neither the Trotskyists nor any of the other Radical Left groupings voice classical Jew-hating views. For one thing, overt racism is out of tune with Marxist theory, which favors a class rather than a racial analysis of history. But because the SWP and other Radical Left groups seek to exploit racial and national antagonisms, they are prepared to forego a strictly class analysis. To advance their goal of seizing political power in the United States, they have developed an analysis which places nationalism and racism at the service of the "proletarian" revolution. According to the rules devised by the SWP for the playing of this revolutionary game, to be black, brown, or yellow is to be "objectively" on the side of the revolution. To be a Jew, however, is automatically to be an obstacle in the path of revolutionary "progress," unless one is prepared totally to abnegate all Jewish identity and consciousness, i.e., to become a "non-Jewish Jew." In this respect, the Trotskyists offer salvation to individual "revolutionary" Jews in the same way that bygone reactionary clerical regimes in Europe offered immunity to "their" Jews, by allowing them to convert to Catholicism....

* * * *

Given the political commitment of Russia to the Arab cause in the Middle East and the traditionally slavish adherence of the American Communist Party to the line set in Moscow, the pro Arab-anti-Israel posture of the Communist Party-USA is utterly predictable....

While the CP-USA has (in its 1972 platform) affirmed the right of Israel to "exist," the party--in common with other voices on the far left in the United States and in line with the declarations from Moscow--continually assails "Zionism," which party leader Henry Winston has dubbed "the nationalism of the Jewish bourgeoisie." Party theoreticians fill many a page of their ideological journal, Political Affairs, with attacks on Israel and harsh criticism of the pro-Israel views and activities of American Jews.

One of the more important attacks of this kind was a long two-part diatribe entitled "The Reactionary Role of Zionism" that appeared during the summer of 1971 under the by-line of editor Hyman Lumer, the main CP theoretician on the Middle East. Lumer attacked the American Jewish community, its major organizations, "Zionist and non-Zionist alike," and its "synagogues and temples" for their support of Israel, but in decrying American contributions to Israel and investments in that country (those of non-Jews as well as Jews), the Communist spokesman denounced the alleged role of "Jewish bankers," specifically naming the "Morgenthaus, Rosenwalds and Warburgs...Kuhn-Loeb and Lehman Brothers" - the very same "Jewish bankers" who for five decades have been the whipping boys of the anti-Jewish lunatic hate fringe, including the Gerald Smiths and the late home-grown George Rockwells....

The Communist ideologue asserted that the "heightened influence of Zionist ideology" had led to, among other things, "an alarming growth of racism and chauvinism within the Jewish community." This, he charged, had aligned "the Jewish people with the forces of racism" and had produced "a campaign of vilification and slander" against the Soviet Union "based on the Big Lie of official 'Soviet anti-Semitism' and persecution of Soviet Jews, which has been built since 1967 to frenetic proportions."

Setting the line for the CP-USA, Lumer declared that "in this country, the heartland of U.S. imperialism and the home of the largest Jewish community in the world, the fight against Zionism takes on exceptional importance. It is here above all," he wrote, "that the battle must be waged against the machinations of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East and for the liberation of the Arab peoples...."

* * * *

The Progressive Labor Party (PL) is a revolutionary left-wing sect founded in April 1965. It traces its origins to a split within the Communist Party. The leaders of PL for many years looked toward Peking rather than Moscow as the true center of world communism. However, when China began to engage in "ping-pong diplomacy" toward a detente with the United States, PL decided that Mao had abandoned the course of revolutionary struggle and began to travel an independent Radical Left path....

The Progressive Labor Party is a self-avowed enemy of Zionism and of Israel, which it regards as a racist cat's-paw of American imperialism. The only thing that keeps Israel intact, according to PL's organ, Challenge, is "the 'security' issue...." To drive home the point, the...article was illustrated with a photo of Golda Meir retouched by PL's artist to make her look like Hitler, complete with Hitler-type mustache, hair and swastika armband....

* * * *

The unabashed support given by radicals of the far left to Arab regimes that have waged war against Israel, or to revolutionary terrorists sworn to Israel's liquidation, is a grim and unrelenting war against the security of the Jewish community. At stake of course--and it is too often forgotten--are the very lives of the Israeli Jews. And in a world that still harbors anti-Semitism, a world in which for Jews at least, the memory of the Holocaust cannot fade, Jewish security in the Diaspora is inextricably intertwined with the survival of Israel as a sovereign state; Jews will neither feel nor be safe in a world which acquiesces in the destruction of the Jewish state, either all at once or piece by piece. In its assault on Israel's right to exist, the Radical Left engages in what is perhaps the ultimate anti-Semitism.

PART THREE

HOW DOES A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY COPE WITH THE THREAT OF THE HATE GROUPS OF THE EXTREME RIGHT;

THE MARXIST-LENINIST GROUPS OF THE EXTREME LEFT

TOPIC XIV - DEFENDING DEMOCRACY

Student Aim How should a democracy act toward those who oppose its existence?

Instructional Objectives

1. Students will learn what the constitutional limitations are on actions against extremists.
2. They will learn the value of such constitutional restraints.
3. They will see that, despite such restraints, extremists can still be effectively controlled.
4. They will be strengthened in their commitment to our democratic society, and in their opposition to those who would destroy it.

Approach

1. Ask the class what is meant by the Bill of Rights.
    - Develop the point that the first Ten Amendments to the Constitution are the guarantees of the rights of the individual which the government must respect.
    - Quote Thomas Jefferson: "A Bill of Rights is what the people are entitled to, against every government on earth, general or particular, and what no just government should refuse or rest on inference."
    - Does Jefferson mean all the people? Even those who would like to destroy the Bill of Rights?
2. Indicate that the purpose of the lesson is to determine how a democracy should act toward the extremists who oppose its existence.

Development

1. Read to the class the First Amendment to the Constitution:

Article I

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

2. Discuss the three kinds of freedoms found in the amendment; freedom of religion; freedom of expression; freedom of association.

   - Explain that since we are concerned with the treatment of extremist groups we will limit ourselves to those parts of the First Amendment that are relevant: freedom of expression, both oral and written, and freedom of association, including the freedom to demonstrate.

   - Refer back to the opening discussion. How absolute are these freedoms? Let us see how the Supreme Court has answered that question in deciding pertinent cases.

3. Distribute to the class Reading 1 for Topic XIV: Judicial Interpretations of First Amendment Rights. In the discussion of the reading include the following points:

   - There are a number of different tests the Supreme Court has applied to cases concerning freedom of speech.

   - The position of the Court is that freedom of speech may be limited only if that speech will incite imminent lawless action. Note the word imminent. In other words, advocacy of lawless behavior is protected as long as no lawless behavior is likely to occur as an immediate result of the advocacy.

   - The principles regarding freedom of speech can also be applied to freedom of the press.

   - Having particular relevance to the press is the principle that no statement shall be subject to "previous restraint," i.e., to censorship before it is said or printed. Note: "previous restraint" is often referred to as "prior restraint."

   - Freedom of assembly is also guaranteed under the same broad principles that guarantee freedom of speech. The advocacy of violent overthrow of the government by a group is protected as long as that group does not actively engage in such action.

   - Although demonstrations by groups are subject to certain content, time, place, and manner restrictions, the right to demonstrate is very broad.

4. Discuss what activities of extremists appear to be permissible in accordance with the judicial interpretation of the First Amendment. Note the wide latitude we give extremists to present their views.

   - Why is it necessary for our democracy to be so protective of the rights of extremists who would destroy that democracy?

5. Distribute to the class Reading 2 for Topic XIV: The Free Expression of Ideas In A Democracy.

   - As springboards for the discussion use Meiklejohn's statement: "To be afraid of ideas, any idea, is to be unfit for self-government"; and Douglas' statement: "The liberties of none are safe unless the liberties of all are protected."

6. Develop the understanding that despite the fact that our democratic system demands that we protect the rights of those who agitate for democracy's destruction, we still have the capacity to defend democracy. Quote the great American philosopher, William James:

   > "The civic genius of our people...consists in nothing but two common habits...One of them is the habit of trained and disciplined good temper towards the opposite party when it fairly wins its innings...The other is that of fierce and merciless resentment toward every man or set of men who break the public peace."

7. Ask students to re-read the last paragraph of the reading on demonstrations. (Reading 1-D) Elicit the understanding that First Amendment rights do not apply when an extremist group engages in violence or any form of violent activity.

   - Analyze what constitutes a violent act. Refer students to the listings of Klan and neo-Nazi violence in Topics VI, VII, and IX, and the description of the violence and terrorism of both left and right extremists in Topics XII and XIII.

   - Develop a list of the types of violent and illegal activities that extremists engage in that are not protected by the First Amendment. The list should include:

     - Using firearms, bombs or other weapons to kill and/or terrorize.

- Illegal possession of firearms and bombs.
- Acts of racial and religious vandalism, e.g., burning a cross on the lawn of a black family; scrawling swastikas on a synagogue; vandalizing a Jewish cemetery.
- When a "clear and present danger" of disorder is present during an extremist demonstration that turns into a riot.
- Assaults on demonstrators, counter-demonstrators, spectators, or police.
- Denying the basic freedoms of others (e.g., the right of free speech and assembly, the right to vote) through the use of violence.

8. Distribute to the class Reading 3 for Topic XIV: The Law Enforcement Response To Extremist Violence.

   - List the many different ways the police and the courts can act against the violence and intimidation of the extremists.

9. Develop the understanding that in addition to our law enforcement agencies, all the institutions in our society should involve themselves in the task of countering extremism.

   Distribute to the class Reading 4 for Topic XIV: Countering Extremism. Discuss the ways in which the different institutions in our society can work against extremists to minimize their impact.

Summary

1. Tell the class -- We have seen the variety of ways in which extremism can be countered by the legal, political, social, educational, and religious institutions in our society. Let us try to summarize the major ways in which democracy can be defended against extremism. Distribute to the class Reading 5 for Topic XIV: Defending Democracy.

2. Discuss the reading. Include the following among the ways in which democracy can be defended:

- A strong commitment to our democratic system and our democratic values.
- A strong commitment to fight against the hate and bigotry of the extremists of the right; of the totalitarianism of the extremists of the left.
- A strong commitment by all racial, religious, and ethnic groups in our society to live together in harmony and understanding, combined with a strong commitment to fight prejudice, discrimination, and scapegoating.

Application

Re-administer the various activities included in Topic II — Learning About Prejudice. Discuss with students what changes, if any, have occurred in their answers since they were first tested. The focus should be an informal sharing, with students evaluating changes in their own attitudes and behavior.

Readings For Topic XIV

1. Judicial Interpretations Of First Amendment Rights

   A. Freedom of Speech - Richard T. Saeger, American Government and Politics: A Neo-Conservative Approach (Glenville, Illinois: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1982).

   B. Freedom of the Press - R. Eric Weise and Alfred de Grazia, Eight Branches: American Government Today (Columbus, Ohio: Collegiate Publishing, Inc., 1975).

   C. Freedom of Assembly - R. Eric Weise and Alfred de Grazia, Eight Branches: American Government Today (Columbus, Ohio: Collegiate Publishing, Inc. 1975).

   D. The Freedom To Demonstrate - Memorandum: Regulation of Extremist Groups' Demonstrations, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

2. The Free Expression Of Ideas In A Democracy

   A. Alexander Meiklejohn, Political Freedom (New York: Harper & Row, 1960).

   B. William O. Douglas, A Living Bill of Rights (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961).

3. The Law Enforcement Response To Extremist Violence

   A. R. Eric Weise and Alfred de Grazia, Eight Branches: American Government Today (Columbus, Ohio: Collegiate Publishing, Inc., 1975).

   B. "5 Blacks Win $535,000 In Suit Against Klan," Newsday, February 27, 1982.

   C. Engage/Social Action, Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church, Vol. 9, No. 8, Sept. 1981.

   D. Edward Lieberman, Asst. District Attorney, Nassau County, N.Y., "The Criminal Justice System's Response," Office of the District Attorney of Nassau County, Prejudice Is No Prank.

E. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, from an unpublished report on extremism.

4. Countering Extremism - The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, from an unpublished report on extremism.

5. Defending Democracy

   A. Sidney Hook, The Paradox of Freedom (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1962).

   B. Michael Cusack, "Double Puzzle - Rise in Tolerance...Rise in Bigotry," Senior Scholastic, Dec. 11, 1981.

   C. Adam Simms, "The American Dream," Office of the District Attorney of Nassau County, Prejudice Is No Prank.

   D. Murray Clark Havens, The Challenges of Democracy: Consensus and Extremism in American Politics (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965).

Reading 1 For Topic XIV

Judicial Interpretations Of First Amendment Rights

A.

Freedom of Speech

Richard T. Saeger, American
Government and Politics: A
Neo-Conservative Approach
(Glenville, Illinois: Scott,
Foresman and Co., 1982),
pp.102-104.

Seditious Speech...speech advocating the violent overthrow of government. Although Congress passed a number of so-called sedition acts during the forties and fifties, only one remains on the statute books today, and it has been significantly diluted.

The one that remains is the Smith Act of 1940, which made it unlawful to advocate the violent overthrow of the United States government, unlawful to become a member of an organization whose purpose it was to overthrow the U.S. government, and unlawful to conspire with others who advocated the overthrow of the U.S. government. Aimed particularly at the Communist party, U.S.A., the Smith Act was tested in 1951, when eleven top leaders of the Communist party appealed their conviction for advocating the violent overthrow of the U.S. government.

In Dennis v. U.S., the Supreme Court ruled that the conviction of the communist leaders should be sustained; however, the decision was split and the opinions varied. Various justices used various tests in reaching their conclusions. Those justices who used the guidelines of the Holmes "clear-and-present-danger test" (that speech, if it is to be unprotected, must constitute such a clear and present danger to the nation's security that the nation would not have time to defend itself) voted to overturn the conviction, arguing that these communists were "miserable merchants of unwanted merchandise," who had no chance of succeeding in overthrowing the U.S. government simply by advocating its overthrow.

Those justices who used the "bad tendency test" (speech is unprotected if it has a tendency to lead to illegal acts) voted to sustain the conviction, reasoning that the question was not whether these eleven communists would succeed in their intention. The mere advocacy of violent overthrow of the government constitutes in and of itself a bad tendency.

The remaining justices used as their guidelines a modified version of the "clear-and-present-danger test," the grave and probable test (speech is unprotected if it creates a probable danger of some grave evil). In their opinion, the justices observed that if the year were 1925, 1935, or even 1945, they would have to vote to overturn the convictions. But since, in 1951, we were engaged in not only the Cold War, but also a "hot" war in Korea, then the evil of overthrow became more probable merely as a result of its advocacy. Consequently, in light of these considerations, the remaining justices also voted to sustain the convictions of the eleven Communist party leaders.

The consequences of the *Dennis* decision were far-reaching and largely unintended by the Court. First, the Department of Justice and the state prosecutors decided to go after lesser communist luminaries, then states began to pass their own sedition acts, and, finally, a cloud of suspicion and fear descended on the country.

In response to these events, the Court claimed it had been misunderstood and immediately moved to declare that states could not prosecute persons for advocating the violent overthrow of the U.S. government (*Pennsylvania v. Nelson*, 1956). Next, the Court ruled that the mere *advocacy* of violent overthrow was protected. "The essential distinction," Justice Harlan wrote, "is that those to whom the advocacy is addressed must be urged *to do* something now or in the future, rather than merely *to believe* in something" (*Yates v. U.S.*, 1957). Further clarification of the Smith Act came in 1969, when the Court ruled that violent advocacy *is* protected "except where such advocacy is directed to inciting or producing *imminent* lawless action and is likely to incite or produce such action" (*Brandenburg v. Ohio*).

B.

Freedom Of The Press

R. Eric Weise and Alfred de Grazia, *Eight Branches: American Government Today* (Columbus, Ohio: Collegiate Publishing, Inc., 1975) pp. 439-441.

Freedom of speech and the press is declared in the First Amendment: "Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech or of the press...." According to this section of the First Amendment, Congress may enact no restriction of the freedom of speech or the freedom of the press. Moreover, through decisions of the Supreme Court this Amendment functions by the agency of the Fourteenth Amendment as a restraint upon States and local authorities as well. Yet, the very way in which these freedoms may be used and abused has made them the object of frequent limitations at all levels of government, limitations which for various reasons have been sustained by the courts.

One principle to which the courts have adhered under almost all circumstances is that speech and the press may not be subjected to censorship, or in legal terminology, "previous restraint." That is to say, under almost all conditions, no law may be enacted that will inflict a penalty upon any utterance or publication before evidence is given that some damage has been incurred. In other words, a person is to be free to say or print what he pleases, with the understanding that he may have to suffer the consequences; but, he is not to be prohibited beforehand from saying or printing what he chooses....

Freedom of speech and the press is also limited by the penalties that the speaker or publisher may have to suffer after the act is committed. For instance, one may not state openly or publish materials that are intended to damage the character or the social or professional standing of another individual. Such an act, if spoken, constitutes slander and, if written, libel. However, most cases of libel and slander reach court as civil trials, that is, as trials in which one person sues another for damages, with the government as referee; and in such cases if the truth of the statement can be shown, no damage can be allowed. In the New York Times rule the Supreme Court gave absolute protection to truthful criticism of public officials. If the statement is false, the plaintiff must show that the statement was made with actual malice, that is with knowledge that it was false or with reckless disregard of whether it was false or not. The more severe instances of libel may be tried as criminal cases, in which the offense is deemed to be against the State, and in which the punishment is fine or imprisonment; under such circumstances, the proof that the statement is true may not be a defense, since certain truths may be regarded as indecent or injurious to public morals.

Freedom of speech and of the press may also be limited by laws against ...obscenity. This sort of law is almost invariably an enactment of a State or local government, as a function of its police powers; however, the federal government forbids the sending of obscene matters through the mails. In ruling on cases in which...obscenity has been charged the courts have usually been rather lenient. For example, if a city directs its police commissioner to remove obscene publications from public magazine stands, the court may hold that a police commissioner is not a qualified judge of literature.

C.

Freedom of Assembly

R. Eric Weise and Alfred de Grazia,
Eight Branches: American Government
Today (Columbus, Ohio: Collegiate
Publishing, Inc., 1975), p. 443.

The freedom of assembly is protected by the First Amendment, which declares that "Congress shall make no law...abridging...the right of people peaceably to assemble...." This provision assures the American people the right to meet for the purpose of discussing political matters, and the right to organize political associations to influence the government. It should be apparent that this right has a close functional relationship with the freedom of speech, since the freedom to assemble for political ends presumes the right to speak in the assembly. Like other rights, the freedom of assembly may be restricted for the sake of the public welfare or the safety of the government. However, basing its action on the due process clause of the 14th Amendment, the Supreme Court has overturned many State and local prohibitions on the freedom of assembly, owing to the fact that these prohibitions were not intended for the benefit of the public but were designed to limit lawful political activity which might threaten to oust the group in power without subverting the government itself. For many years, the most sensitive issue connected with the freedom of assembly was the Communist Party. For years there had been wide public demand that the Communist Party be made illegal. The States attempted to use their criminal syndicalism acts...not only to stifle disloyal utterances, but also to disperse subversive organizations; usually, however, the Supreme Court refused to uphold such legislation unless the "clear and present danger" doctrine was satisfied. In 1954, Congress passed the Communist Control Act, which at least on paper outlawed the Party.

The Communist Control Act specifically termed the Communist Party an "instrumentality of the conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government." By this definition Congress simplified reaching convictions under the Smith Act, since it no longer was necessary to prove that the party was a conspiracy aiming to subvert the American government. The Act, in effect, outlawed the Party, for it declared that the Party is "not entitled to any of the rights, privileges, and immunities" of lawful bodies organized in the United States. It further stated that any person knowingly joining the Party in full awareness of its nature (something that has been very difficult to prove in Court) shall be denied the rights of citizenship, including the right to hold a federal civil service post or to work in a defense plant. It required members of the Party to register with the Department of Justice (a requirement similar to the one in the Internal Security Act of 1950, which had not been enforced). Following over a decade of Department of Justice prosecution of the Party, the Supreme Court in a series of decisions rendered the Smith Act and Communist Control Act unenforceable, insofar as they were intended to outlaw a political party or bar members of the Party from employment, even including government service. Government may protect itself from conspiracy by individuals or groups only when it can, through due process, prove such individuals or groups intend to do violence to the polity.

D.

The Freedom To Demonstrate

Memorandum: Regulation of Extremist Groups' Demonstrations, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Regulation of Extremist Groups' Demonstrations

Question Presented

What means may a government permissibly employ to regulate demonstrations by the Nazis, Ku Klux Klan and other extremist groups?

Conclusion

1. A government may prohibit Nazi and Klan speech if it is unprotected, i.e., if it advocates imminent lawless action and is likely to produce such action.

2. A government may regulate protected Nazi and Klan speech by imposing reasonable and neutral regulatory restrictions which will further important governmental interests unrelated to the suppression of speech.

3. A government may incidentally regulate protected Nazi and Klan speech by regulating prohibitable "conduct" performed in conjunction with the protected speech.

Discussion

I. Content-based restrictions on speech may not be imposed except under very exceptional circumstances.

It is well established that government has no power to restrict expression because of its message, its ideas, its subject matter, or its content ....Thus, singling out Nazi and Klan expression for prohibition because of the offensive nature of its message is generally unconstitutional. This result "is dictated by the fundamental principle that if civil rights are to remain vital for all, they must protect not only those society deems acceptable, but also those whose ideas it quite justifiably rejects and despises." (Collin v. Smith, 1978)

However, there are limited classes of "unprotected speech" which constitute exceptions to this general principle. Advocacy posing a "clear and present danger" is a class of unprotected speech arguably applicable to Nazi and Klan expression. If Nazi or Klan expression can be proved to pose this danger it is prohibitable and may be punished under an appropriate criminal statute. The cases in which the courts have found speech to pose a "clear and present danger," however, have been extremely rare....

In most instances, it will be extremely difficult to show that Nazi or Klan demonstration rhetoric incites lawlessness with the requisite imminence....

Moreover, generally even unprotected and unlawful communication cannot be forbidden before it is made. Attempts to regulate speech before it is made are "prior restraints" and are constitutionally suspect....

Thus, restrictions on speech predicated on the content of the speech may not be imposed except under very exceptional circumstances. Attempting to criminalize the content of Nazi and Klan expression is rarely an effective way to respond to their demonstrations.

II. Regulatory restrictions uniformly applied to all groups may be imposed if they are reasonably related to important governmental interests and are no greater than essential for the furtherance of those interests.

A state may impose reasonable regulatory restrictions on protected First Amendment expression provided that the regulations are in furtherance of substantial governmental interests unrelated to the suppression of speech. The regulation must also be no greater than is essential for the furtherance of these interests. Thus, the paramount governmental interest in, for example, assuring the safety and convenience of the people in the use of public highways, in providing security, or in protecting individual privacy may justify limited restrictions on First Amendment expression.

These restrictions must be "content-neutral." Any such restrictions imposed must apply uniformly to all groups seeking to exercise their First Amendment rights. These restrictions are, therefore, of limited utility in restricting Nazi and Klan expression in particular.

A. Permit Requirements -- A state may reasonably require those engaged in demonstrations or parades to obtain prior authorization in the form of parade or demonstration permits. A refusal by the would-be demonstrators to obtain a required permit could thus be the basis for a court to enjoin the demonstration....

The permit scheme must be administered fairly, treating all applicants uniformly and without discrimination....

A state may require that the applications be filed sufficiently in advance to afford opportunity for proper policing, to prevent confusion, to secure the convenient use of the street to other travelers, and to minimize the risk of disorder....

B. Time Restrictions -- A state may reasonably restrict the time and duration of a demonstration.

The government interest in securing the convenient use of the streets by other travelers would, for example, justify barring parades or even large sidewalk demonstrations during weekday morning and evening rush hours.... Restricting demonstrations in public parks during weekends or holidays might be justified if it can be shown that the activity sufficiently conflicts with competing and paramount public demands for use of the limited recreation facilities, and that no less restrictive alternative measure exists which would satisfy both competing claims.

If the government has a valid reason for denying a demonstration request for a particular date, its denial will apparently be upheld if it selects and grants a reasonable alternative date....However, if the date has symbolic importance to the group or if the postponement and alternative date would have the effect of stifling in some way the exercise of the group's First Amendment rights (as would, for example, putting a march off to the dead of winter), the discretionary denial will be scrutinized much more closely....

C. Place Restrictions -- A state may reasonably restrict the area of public demonstrations.

A government may not unreasonably restrict First Amendment activity in a public place appropriate for the exercise of First Amendment rights, i.e., a "public forum...." However, security interests might dictate special regulatory measures near politically sensitive buildings....The Supreme Court has held that other sensitive areas, such as a school building and its immediate environs, may not be used for unlimited First Amendment purposes. If the activity materially interferes with the normal activities of the particular place at a particular time, it may reasonably be restrained....

To ensure the orderly flow of traffic, a government may restrain demonstrations which obstruct passage on congested main public arteries and highways....

Ordinarily, a hostile audience cannot be allowed to silence a speaker no matter how offensive his speech may be to others....However, privacy interests may justify restricting demonstrations in residential areas where an audience hostile to the demonstrators may be "captive...." In Collin v. Smith, the court did protect a Sunday afternoon Nazi march on Village Hall in a predominately Jewish and "hostile" Chicago suburb, the village of Skokie. The court said that there was no captive audience in that case because village residents could simply avoid the Village Hall on that Sunday afternoon, when, in any event, the Village Hall was not open for regular business....

D. Manner Restrictions -- A state may reasonably regulate the manner of a proposed demonstration.

The government may restrict sound amplification devices which are incompatible with the normal activities of certain locations at certain times....Thus, "disruptive noise" may conceivably be prohibited in residential areas in the late evenings, near churches on Sunday morning, and at all times near hospitals or on the White House sidewalk....

A blanket ban on non-commercial leafletting in places appropriate for political expression is constitutionally impermissible....However, restrictions on intersection solicitation on interstate highways...and door-to-door commercial solicitations...are manner restrictions which have been upheld as reasonable....

A government may restrict crowd sizes at particular localities in furtherance of important governmental interests. For example, considerations of physical space and protection of public property could justify restricting the scheduling of massive demonstrations in a small park....If the projected number of demonstrators exceeds the number that the government feels can be safely accommodated at the requested site, however, a reasonable alternative site capable of accommodating the major demonstration should be provided....

III. Incidental regulations of expression may be imposed by regulating "conduct" performed in conjunction with the protected expression.

It is an unassailable principle that a government may, under its police power, regulate certain "conduct" if the regulation is reasonably related to a legimate governmental interest. Such regulations could have permissible incidental effects on Nazi and Klan expression.

For example, a state may criminalize breaches of the peace and halt otherwise lawful assemblages whenever violence or rioting break out....A state may criminalize possession of firearms by persons participating in public demonstrations and arrest demonstrators engaging in this criminal activity....

Reading 2 For Topic XIV

The Free Expression of Ideas In A Democracy

A.

Alexander Meiklejohn, Political
Freedom (New York: Harper and
Row, 1960), pp.26-28.

The First Amendment, then, is not the guardian of unregulated talkativeness. It does not require that, on every occasion, every citizen shall take part in public debate. Nor can it even give assurance that everyone shall have opportunity to do so....What is essential is not that everyone shall speak, but that everything worth saying shall be said. To this end, for example, it may be arranged that each of the known conflicting points of view shall have, and shall be limited to, an assigned share of the time available. But however it be arranged, the vital point, as stated negatively, is that no suggestion of policy shall be denied a hearing because it is on one side of the issue rather than another. And this means that though citizens may, on other grounds, be barred from speaking, they may not be barred because their views are thought to be false or dangerous. No plan of action shall be outlawed because someone in control thinks it unwise, unfair, un-American. No speaker may be declared "out of order" because we disagree with what he intends to say. And the reason for this equality of status in the field of ideas lies deep in the very foundations of the self-governing process. When men govern themselves, it is they--and no one else --who must pass judgment upon unwisdom and unfairness and danger. And that means that unwise ideas must have a hearing as well as wise ones, unfair as well as fair, dangerous as well as safe, un-American as well as American. Just so far as, at any point, the citizens who are to decide an issue are denied acquaintance with information or opinion or doubt or disbelief or criticism which is relevant to that issue, just so far the result must be ill-considered, ill-balanced planning for the general good. It is that mutilation of the thinking process of the community against which the First Amendment to the Constitution is directed. The principle of the freedom of speech springs from the necessities of the program of self-government. It is not a Law of Nature or of Reason in the abstract. It is a deduction from the basic American agreement that public issues shall be decided by universal suffrage.

If, then, on any occasion in the United States it is allowable to say that the Constitution is a good document it is equally allowable, in that situation, to say that the Constitution is a bad document. If a public building may be used in which to say, in time of war, that the war is justified, then the same building may be used in which to say that it is not justified. If it be publicly argued that conscription for armed service is moral and necessary it may likewise be publicly argued that it is immoral and unnecessary. If it may be said that American political institutions are superior to those of England or Russia or Germany, it may, with equal freedom, be said that those of England or Russia or Germany are superior to ours. These conflicting views may be expressed, must be expressed, not because they are valid, but because they are relevant. If they are responsibly entertained by anyone, we, the voters, need to hear them. When a question of policy is "before the house," free men choose to meet it not with their eyes shut, but with their eyes open. To be afraid of ideas, any idea, is to be unfit for self-government. Any such suppression of ideas about the common good, the First Amendment condemns with its absolute disapproval. The freedom of ideas shall not be abridged.

B.

William O. Douglas, A Living Bill of Rights (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961) pp. 61-65. Justice Douglas was a member of the United States Supreme Court

Some may say: "These issues do not concern me. You have been talking about the liberties of the other fellow--Negroes, Japanese, Jehovah's Witnesses, atheists, communists, fascists, fellow travelers, criminals, smut peddlers. It's only the minority groups, the lunatic fringe, the freak, the troublemaker, who raise these problems. The average, sensible American has no reason to be concerned about these things."

Some go even further and say: "These people don't deserve the protection of the courts and the Constitution. Why should we talk about the 'rights' of communists and criminals? They don't deserve any rights."

That is a dangerous attitude. The Constitution does not say "no person except communists shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." There are no exceptions. The command is that "no person" shall be deprived of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law." We are not entitled to make exceptions merely because we do not like the particular person or the ideas he represents.

The liberties of any person are the liberties of all of us. If we once start saying "The Constitution should not protect communists," we then face the question "Who are communists?" Do we deny free speech only to card-carrying members of the Communist party, or do we say that there are others who try to conceal their membership but are no less communists? If we try to put them, also, outside the Constitution, do we say that anyone who takes the same position that the Communist party takes should be silenced....?

Under this test, then, a man who advocated social security legislation, or the preservation and strengthening of the Tennessee Valley Authority, or the protection of the right of labor to organize and to strike, or the taxation of excess business profits, or the enforcement of the antitrust laws, could be labeled a "left-winger and radical," and hence classified as one who is not entitled to constitutional protection. Once we start picking and choosing among people by reason of their opinions and say that some are entitled to the protection of the First Amendment while others are not, then no one's right is secure. Freedom of speech would then come to be only a freedom to say what the majority or some government official happens at the moment to agree with. This is the Russian system, in which today's orthodoxy may become tomorrow's heresy--if a Stalin changes his mind....

Indeed, it is precisely the unpopular views, the minority views, which we need to hear. We do not learn by hearing what we already agree with. We need to hear ideas with which we may disagree. As Stuart Mill said, "Sometimes we come, on further reflection, to find merit in the new idea; and if we do not, we understand our own views better by testing them against differing views...."

In short, the liberties of none are safe unless the liberties of all are protected.

But even if we should sense no danger to our own liberties, even if we feel secure because we belong to a group that is important and respected, we must recognize that our Bill of Rights is a code of fair play for the less fortunate that we in all honor and good conscience must observe.

It is also easy to say: "Let the courts and lawyers worry about the Bill of Rights; they'll protect my rights for me." Again, that is a dangerous drift. Ultimately, in a democracy all government rests on the consent of the governed. If "We the People" do not believe in the Bill of Rights, then the courts will not be able effectively to enforce it. This is not to say, with the celebrated Mr. Dooley, that "the Court follows the election returns." Federal judges have life tenure; and even in states where judges are elected, they stand out against the popular opinion of the moment to preserve the enduring principles of our Constitution. But they are able to do so only because the majority of people in the United States, however much they may disagree with a particular decision, agree with the basic principles of our written Constitution, including the power which we give our courts to interpret and enforce it.

The spirit of liberty, the principles of the Bill of Rights, are part of the daily fabric of our lives to a much greater extent then most of us recognize. Any lawyer knows that legal principles affect people's behavior in hundreds of cases which never get to court....The decisions of courts are like the visible part of an iceberg. Most of the law whch affects our daily lives goes on without the dramatic contest and publicity which attends litigation.

The same principle holds true in the field of civil rights. In most areas the basic principles of free speech and conscience, of non-discrimination, of civilian and secular authority, are accepted and acted on by our people. It is only occasionally--when some crisis makes us temporarily lose our heads or when some clique seeks additional power--that the courts are called on to vindicate them.

Moreover, the courts and the law can, at best, give only a minimum protection to our liberties. They can deal, for the most part, only with actions of government officials. They normally have no authority to protect minority groups and opinions from unpopularity and social ostracism by private groups. We need a spirit of liberty which extends beyond what a court can supply, and which accepts in our daily living and behavior the attitudes of toleration of unorthodox opinions and respect for the dignity and privacy of each human being, which our Bill of Rights reflects....

Reading 3 For Topic XIV

The Law Enforcement Response To Extremist Violence

A.

R. Eric Weise and Alfred de Grazia,
Eight Branches: American Government
Today (Columbus, Ohio: Collegiate
Publishing, Inc., 1975) pp. 433-434.

What...would be needed to protect an individual's liberties from interference by other people and private groups? The answer is that the federal government must pass legislation to protect any liberty from private interference; this legislation would convert the liberty into a right. In connection with some liberties, the federal government has acted against private obstacles; for example, federal law prohibits conspiracies by groups, such as the Klu Klux Klan to prevent Blacks (or, in some case, whites) from enjoying the freedom of speech, the freedom of assembly, and other liberties, as well as the power to exercise the suffrage.

In other cases, however, there are no federal laws to protect liberties that many people possess or desire to possess. Sometimes actual crimes are perpetrated against liberty; [but] the only recourse of the injured, or of those affected by the crime, is a government prosecution on some ground other than that of the denial of liberty. This was the only way to prosecute the mob-denied freedom of speech and association to three civil rights workers in Meridian, Mississippi who were murdered and buried in an earthen dam in 1964. Those participating in the murder were subsequently indicted and convicted under federal law for violating the civil rights of the victims.

B.

February 27, 1982

Newsday

5 Blacks Win $535,000 In Suit Against Klan

By Morris S. Thompson
Newsday Staff Correspondent

Chattanooga, Tenn.—In what plaintiffs' attorneys say is the first private lawsuit under an 1870 anti-Ku Klux Klan terrorism statute, a federal jury yesterday awarded $535,000 in damages to five elderly black women in connection with a shotgun shooting two years ago by a Klan group. A riot had ensued when two of the same Klansmen were acquitted of criminal charges in the incident in July, 1980.

"The federal court in this case has sent a message to Klansmen all across the country. They will be held accountable for their evil and violent deeds," said Randolph Scott-McLaughlin, a lawyer for the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York, which with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund represented the five women.

A jury of two men and four women, one of them black, assessed $35,000 in compensatory damages and $500,000 in punitive damages against the Justice Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; William Church, 25, its organizer and "imperial wizard," and two members of the group, Marshall Thrash, 32, and Larry Payne, 28. Both they and their victims are residents of this Appalachian industrial city of 170,000.

At about 8 PM on a mid-April Saturday in 1980, Church, Thrash and Payne, all of whom are white, set fire to rough wooden crosses under a railroad overpass along the street that runs through the heart of the black business district. According to trial testimony, the men covered their auto's license plates and circled for a pass down the one-way street.

Thrash admitted firing two 212-gauge bolt-action shotguns, although he said he was trying only to draw attention to the burning crosses.

One blast shattered three windows in a parked car, spraying slivers of glass into the body of Fannie Crumsey, now 61, and over the heads of her grandchildren.She testified that she was looking at the flower garden in her front yard.

Three blocks farther on, Viola Ellison, now 66, Lela Evans, 67, Katharine Johnson, 50, Opal Jackson, 48, and Mary Tyson, 77, had just left the Stack Club bar and were waiting at a corner to cross a street. Thrash let loose another shotgun blast. All but Tyson were injured, none seriously.

Minutes later, the three men were arrested in a working-class white neighborhood a few miles away across the Tennessee River. A policeman had noticed the taped-over license plates.

Charges lodged against them included attempted murder and assault. That July Church and Payne were acquitted by an all-white jury. Thrash was found guilty and sentenced to nine months in the county workhouse, of which he served 3½ months. On the searing summer night when the verdict was reached, an overcrowded low-income housing project erupted into the first of three nights of rock- and bottle-throwing and arson.

That fall, the five injured women sued under the Civil Rights Act of 1870, which makes it illegal to "go in disguise upon the highway" or intimidate people because of their race. They alleged civil conspiracy, assault and negligence and sought total damages of $1.5 million.

Defense attorneys in the civil trial said their clients were drunk. Thrash and Payne aren't "real" Klansmen, their lawyers argued, because they had joined only a few weeks earlier. Church never appeared at the trial. "You can't award damages against them for doing stupid, drunk things," argued Payne's attorney, Hiram Hill.

"This is a simple case," Victor McTeer, one of the plaintiffs' attorneys, told the jury in his closing argument. "It is a case of unjustified violence . . . We ask for punitive damages so this will never happen again. We ask for a warning."

C.

Engage/Social Action, Board of
Church and Society of the United
Methodist Church, Vol. 9, No. 8,
Sept. 1981, pp. 50-51.

Temporary Restraining Orders

...When the Klan is granted a permit to march or conduct a rally, local citizens can enter court and secure temporary restraining orders (TRO). This is an effective strategy to deny the Klan the inflammatory and threatening rhetoric on which it thrives. Here is an excerpt from a TRO issued by the Court of Common Pleas in Butler County, Ohio in 1980:

...it is hereby ORDERED, ADJUDGED and DECREED that the defendants, their agents, and all others acting in concert with them are hereby restrained from engaging in any of the following conduct during the rally scheduled at Dixie Heights Park in Middletown, Ohio, for June 14, 1980: (1) acts of violence, (2) use of force or violence, (3) threatening violence, (4) violations of Ohio law, (5) conduct or speech that creates a clear and present danger of inciting to violence.

It is further ordered that the plaintiffs post a bond in the amount of fifty dollars ($50.00) with the clerk of this court.

It is further ordered that copies of the order be served by the Butler County Sheriff on Klan representatives and supporters in attendance at the June 14th rally and that the order be read aloud from the stage by a peace officer.

The defendants will also post bond with the clerk of this court or the Butler County Sheriff in the amount of...dollars to ensure compliance with this order by noon on June 14, 1980.

Preliminary Injunction

Klansmen and several militant American fisherman had threatened to burn the boats and homes of Vietnamese and Americans friendly to them. Texas Klan leader, Louis Beam, who runs a Klan guerrilla training camp, said all Vietnamese would have to be removed from the Galveston Bay area. The Klan had set May 15 as the "deadline" for all Vietnamese to be out of the area.

When several boats were actually burned, the Southern Poverty Law Center filed for a preliminary injunction against the Knights of the KKK. On May 14 US District Judge Gabrielle McDonald of Houston granted the injunction saying Vietnamese have a right to live and work.

D.

Edward Lieberman, Asst. District
Attorney, Nassau County, N.Y., "The
Criminal Justice System's Response,"
Office of the District Attorney of
Nassau County, Prejudice Is No Prank

In Nassau County, acts of religious and racial vandalism are viewed as crimes deserving of a swift and certain law enforcement response. Accordingly, all facets of Nassau County's criminal justice system have directly addressed themselves to these criminal acts with specific policies and procedures. The following story, based upon an actual recent incident, demonstrates the response of the County's law enforcement agencies to a criminal act with anti-Semitic overtones.

A recent Autumn evening saw a group of teenage youths milling around a local suburban Jewish House of Worship. Later explaining away their actions as a youthful prank, these individuals approached the House of Worship armed with paint and brush. They scrawled religious slurs and swastikas on the synagogue's walls, thus defacing the sanctity of this religious edifice.

A private citizen who eyewitnessed this incident called the police and set in motion the response of law enforcement personnel.

The Nassau County Police Department's religious and racial task force, a specially designed police unit, was activated. Within minutes, police investigators were at the scene gathering evidence and interviewing witnesses.

Recognizing the fact that this was a religiously motivated crime, the Nassau County District Attorney's Civil Rights Unit was notified immediately. An Assistant District Attorney from this unit monitored the investigation.

The investigation led to the arrests of the youths involved resulting in criminal charges and court action.

When the case first appeared before a judge for arraignment, the youths, now referred to as "defendants," were informed of the criminal charges filed against them.

After spending the night in jail, the defendants posted bail with a monetary sum and were directed by the court to appear at a later date.

At the subsequent court appearance, the defendants, through their respective attorneys, encountered the District Attorney's policy of no plea bargaining on religiously or racially motivated crimes.

Faced with the prospect of a public trial, the defendants pled guilty to the crimes as charged. These pleas of guilty were tantamount to convictions after trial and resulted in these youths receiving criminal records.

At the time of sentence, the judge considered the maximum terms of one year imprisonment and a $1,000 fine, and he imposed an appropriate sentence.

Every facet of the criminal justice system was coordinated to bring these defendants to account for their conduct before a court of law. Nassau County's entire criminal justice system is designed to deter such publicly offensive criminal acts in the future.

E.

The Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith, from an unpublished
report on extremism.

Law Enforcement Agencies

There must be a greater FBI and Justice Department presence wherever extremist growth and activity pose a threat to the civil rights of citizens. Monitoring of groups with a record of violence can greatly curtail the commission of harmful criminal acts.

Methods should be sought to permit the sharing of information among police departments and federal agencies, with adequate safeguards to prevent certain excesses of the past. New York City and the two counties of Long Island have set up a central reporting system that compiles all incidents of racial and religious bigotry, thereby providing each jurisdiction with a mechanism for detecting trends.

Strict enforcement of those laws already on the books is imperative. With Klan activity particularly, there must always be a consideration of whether the Civil Rights Act has been violated. In addition, if the Justice Department can determine that there is significant interstate travel and communication among individuals involved in racist or anti-Semitic acts of violence in various parts of the country, prosecution may be possible under existing federal civil rights laws.

Other laws that can limit extremist activity if properly enforced include federal paramilitary legislation, federal and state laws pertaining to desecrations, and whatever state anti-masking laws may be constitutionally sound. Even municipal traffic ordinances can be useful. For example, Klan members conduct "road-block" fund raising drives: they stand at intersections—in full regalia—collecting money from passing motorists. Under the legitimate exercise of police powers, existing laws concerning traffic safety and harassment should be applied to stop these intimidating tactics.

COUNTERING EXTREMISM

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai
B'rith, from an unpublished report
on extremism.

There is need for a broad national consensus, enunciated by political leaders and by those in authority in every segment of American life, that extremism will everywhere be vehemently condemned and seriously countered. This consensus must include an understanding that while it is harmful to ignore hatemongers, it is equally ill-advised to exaggerate their importance.

There is a special moral responsibility resting upon those who are not specifically the targets of the bigots to close ranks with those who are, in order that organized bigotry may be isolated from the larger community. Preventing violent acts and minimizing the impact of the extremists will require the continued engagement of all the institutions in our society. Action can be -- and in some cases has been -- taken by governmental and private human rights agencies, law enforcement agencies, legislatures and other governmental bodies, schools and educators' organizations, the media, the military, the churches, and labor and business organizations.

Governmental Human Rights Agencies

Appropriate federal governmental agencies, such as the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, can play a pivotal role in disseminating accurate information about extremists to state and local agencies. In cooperation with the Department of Justice, a constitutionally sound method of monitoring the actions of extremists can be formulated. A clearer picture of the nature and extent of extremism in various areas of the country will enable state and local agencies to deal more effectively with the problem.

State and municipal legislators should be made aware of all court decisions and current lawsuits relating to extremist activity in their areas. A legal information service reporting all relevant decisions and litigations could be provided by a federal governmental agency.

Human rights agencies must, of course, continue to testify in support of germane legislation. Agencies in one eastern state have been working for passage of a law that would require the state police to collect information on incidents inspired by racial and religious hate and to make monthly reports to the State Human Relations Commission.

A county human relations commission in the same state has established the "Network of Neighbors," where neighbors visit victims to allay their fears and feelings of isolation. This program is now being implemented throughout the state.

As prevention is obviously preferable to redressing damage already done, there is need to reemphasize the role human rights agencies play in bringing together religious and community leaders, and ultimately the public, in programs to foster improved intergroup relations.

Legislators and Other Government Bodies

The First and Second Klans and the Klans of the 1960's waned following their exposure through Congressional investigations. Hearings by appropriate governmental bodies or legislatures can be extremely beneficial in heightening public awareness of the nature and extent of extremist activity and can lead to further useful legislation.

Several bills to counter religious vandalism have been introduced on both the federal and state levels. Generally, these bills would make it a federal criminal offense for anyone to vandalize, damage, or destroy a house of worship, a consecrated cemetery, or a religious school with the intent to intimidate or otherwise interfere with any person freely exercising his religion. A more comprehensive bill, which would make religious vandalism a federal offense without regard to the perpetrator's intent, has also been introduced.

Similar legislation has been introduced in a number of state legislatures, including New York, California, and New Jersey. The New Jersey bill, which has passed both houses and awaits the Governor's signature, would make it a crime to terrorize a person by "performing any act or making any communication that commonly connotes a threat of violence on the basis of race, religion, or national origin, such as but not limited to the burning of a cross or the placing of a Nazi swastika...."

Useful anti-violence legislation, in the form of state statutes and local ordinances, has been passed in several states. In Alabama, no weapons are permitted to be kept at or near demonstrations or rallies on public property. This type of legislation is extremely effective in preventing extremist violence, and similar laws should be adopted by other states. Some state laws also prohibit possession of a weapon by a convicted felon.

Because there are practically no state laws that directly deal with paramilitary training, the Anti-Defamation League has prepared model legislation that would make it illegal for the Klan and other racist groups to operate their paramilitary training programs. The proposed statute is based upon the federal Civil Disobedience Act of 1968, which has been upheld by the courts as constitutional. It calls for imprisonment and/or fines for those found guilty of operating or receiving training at paramilitary camps, where the training is intended for use in, or furtherance of, a civil disorder.

Finally, the U.S. Immigration Department and the Department of State must be cognizant of the foreign ties maintained by some of the extremist groups, so that they can bar those aliens who, as specified in 8 United States Code Annotated Section 1182(a)(27), will "engage in activities which would be prejudicial to the public interest...."

The Media

The role of the media raises difficult and sensitive questions. To the extent that activities of the extremists are truly newsworthy, those activities must be covered. But how much coverage is warranted, and what form it should take, are matters demanding careful judgment. In addition, responsible press coverage--particularly of the Klan, which is secretive and unscrupulous--requires research and a thorough understanding of the subject. Without such preparation, the media is susceptible to manipulation by Klansmen or Nazis, and may unintentionally provide them with free publicity and a forum for presenting spurious claims that go unchallenged.

The Schools

The extremists' outreach to young people in some parts of the country necessitates exposure and counteraction by educators. Information about the extremist groups, properly presented, can do much to deglamorize and discredit such groups. The Klan's history of violence and lawlessness is an appropriate subject for effective social studies and American history teaching. Equally important is a curriculum that prepares students to deal with propaganda, bigotry and prejudice, and the scapegoating of minorities. Such instruction can result in a lessening of extremist ability to use student intergroup tensions for recruiting. Education about different cultures can also serve to increase intergroup understanding and create a climate in which diversity is appreciated, not feared or perceived as a threat to community security.

In situations where acts of vandalism and graffiti suggest underlying problems of bigotry, racism, and anti-Semitism, special school-community programs are sorely needed. One such program, undertaken by a high school in a New York suburban community, used the acronym SHARE -- Stop Hatred and Respond Effectively. The program consisted of an all-day teach-in for students, with more than seventy civil leaders (including the lieutenant governor), academicians, Holocaust survivors, and artists as guest faculty focusing on the significance of anti-social manifestations of hatred. The day was climaxed by a community forum which drew some 500 residents to discuss the status of human relationships and the implications of the student vandalism, and to make plans for further school and community activity.

The Military

The Navy's policy of cracking down on the Klan deserves commendation. The Army, which has also experienced a Klan problem and has developed a similar policy, should give its policy greater publicity.

In all branches of the military, there must be stepped-up educational programs to promote racial and religious understanding.

The attitudes of those in leadership positions are particularly important. In Blaumeuser v. Andrews, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit (August 27, 1980) ruled that further ROTC training could be denied a member of the neo-Nazi NSPA because of his Nazi sympathies and public statements in support of white supremacy. The court held that Blaumeuser's personal convictions were evidence that he lacked completely the "leadership potential" and "...ability to lead and...gain the respect of persons from diverse backgrounds" required of military officers.

Private Human Rights Organizations

In bringing together groups to work for increased understanding and to condemn acts of bigotry, private human rights organizations and coalitions can help foster a positive social climate. One local alliance of such organizations serves as a clearing house for information on incidents of racial and anti- Semitic vandalism. It has also held meetings with police and media representatives and has testified on legislation of concern. The coalition is presently planning a conference on terrorism.

Private civil rights groups can also act as a stimulus, spurring others to react creatively and responsibly to episodes of extremism and bigotry. They can elicit statements of concern from elected officials, editorials from local newspapers, radio and television stations, statements from ministerial alliances and sermons from clergymen, and educational measures from local school systems and libraries.

Another means of mobilizing a collective community voice of decency in the face of Klan or Nazi demonstrations is the holding of peaceful public rallies by coalitions of responsible local groups designed to express a repudiation of bigotry. Such rallies, carefully planned to avoid any possible violent confrontation with the hate groups, have succeeded in dramatizing the isolation of the forces of organized racism.

The Churches, Organized Labor, and Businesses

The churches have a special responsibility and opportunity in combating racist extremism, not only because bigotry and violence run counter to their moral teachings, but also because groups such as the Klan and the Christian-Patriots Defense League notoriously pervert Christian concepts and symbols and even claim a religious basis for their activities. In areas where hate groups are active, the churches can speak out in sermons and publications and take the lead in organizing a community response.

Labor unions, too, have a unique responsibility, especially with respect to the Klan, which has a history of anti-labor and even unionbusting activity. The racist rationale of the Klan--which shows a high quotient of "blue collar" workers among its members--is clearly contrary to the basic trade union philosophy of ignoring racial barriers in promoting the welfare of working people. Organized labor has an opportunity to educate on the dangers of extremism through its press and public relations facilities and through leadership training institutes and other instructional programs.

Where there are extremist organizations and racial tensions, the business community also has a responsibility and opportunity. In applying its financial and informational resources to educating its employees, it can minimize the impact of the extremists.

Bigotry is nurtured by indifference. With the active involvement of these public and private sectors of society, and with strict law enforcement and firm political leadership on all levels, the disruptions and violence created by extremist groups can be curbed. Beyond this immediate task, the broad national consensus must turn to a long-range and basic commitment: to press ahead in the quest for racial justice and equal opportunity for every citizen...and to strengthen education on the substance and application of American democratic values.

Reading 5 For Topic XIV

Defending Democracy

A.

Sidney Hook, The Paradox of Freedom
(Berkeley: The University of
California Press, 1962) p. 129-139.

What attitude should the democratic community take toward political groups which invoke democratic rights and privileges in order to destroy the entire system that makes these rights and privileges possible? What action, if any, should a democratic community take toward any minority that proposes, if and when it comes to power, to make forever impossible the opportunity of any other minority to become a majority through peaceful and orderly means, by destroying all the rights of the Bill of Rights and instituting a reign of terror?

This problem is posed in a unique way by twentieth century totalitarianism--Fascism, Nazism, and Communism. Once these totalitarian movements come to power, the system of terror they establish cannot be overthrown except by war--which every humane person, for obvious reasons, would like to avoid....

The greatness, the nobility of the American Revolution lies in the fact that it was conceived as an experiment in liberty. Until the thought of the American Enlightenment challenged the view, it was assumed, on the basis of the record of human ignorance, folly, and cruelty in history, that men were born either to rule or to be ruled. It was the daring hypothesis of the philosopher-statesmen of the American Republic that if given an opportunity, under conditions in which they had free access to information and in which traditions of free speech and press prevailed, men could be trusted to govern themselves. "I have no fear", wrote Jefferson, "But that the result of our experiment will be, that men may be trusted to govern themselves without a master. Could the contrary of this be proved, I should conclude either that there is no God, or that He is a malevolent being."

Events have so far confirmed this faith, although it has come near to failing. But it cannot be finally confirmed, because self-government is a continuing experiment facing new challenges which are created by the very successes of the past, challenges which require more and more resourcefulness, more and better education, and a commitment as deep and sustained as that which inspired those who left us our heritage of freedom.

Jefferson and those who fought to make the American experiment in freedom succeed staked not only their faith in God and human intelligence, they staked their very lives. Creative intelligence, courage to think and act on a world scale, and a passion for human freedom cannot guarantee the survival of liberal civilization today, but they are our best hope.

The world we live in is far removed from Jefferson's. The dangers to peace and to freedom are more massive and dreadful than he ever conceived them. Only those who refuse to see can deny that the threatening tides of Communist totalitarianism threaten to engulf the remaining islands of freedom - West Berlin, West Germany, Western Europe. They are already lapping at the shores of the Western Hemisphere, not far from the North American mainland. The prospects of conflict are so fearful that one can observe in Europe and in Great Britain, and even in the United States, a growing mood which defines our choice as limited to universal destruction, if we resist Communist aggression, or surrender to Communism if we do not resist. These alternatives are neither exclusive nor exhaustive--not exclusive, because surrender does not guarantee survival; not exhaustive, because there is an entire gamut of possibilities that remain to be explored which, without sacrificing human freedom, can preserve peace.

In moments of crisis, however, there are those who are prepared to abandon the experiment of freedom and self-government for the sake of survival at any price and at all costs in human infamy. They say that if the defense of freedom imperils peace, then better life under Communist despotism, with all its evils, than the risk of destruction. To which, I reply, invoking in all humility the values of the Jeffersonian tradition: Those who will never risk their lives for freedom will surely lose their freedom without surely saving their lives; that unless we prize something in life which is more precious than mere life, we have renounced the human estate. That in our precarious world, intelligence and courage have proved to have greater survival value than hysterical fear; and that if we continue to place our trust in them, we are justified, in Jefferson's words, "to disdain despair, encourage trial, and nourish hope."

B. BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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December 11, 1981

DOUBLE PUZZLE

Rise In Tolerance ... Rise In Bigotry

DAN NELKIN

Attitude surveys, opinion polls, and studies of how people work, play, and socialize with each other show that many old barriers and prejudices have broken down. Sociologists say that Americans are now more tolerant of racial, religious, and ethnic differences than ever before.

UPI

Much progress in understanding, caring, and acceptance among Americans of different backgrounds has been made over the years. Therefore, such acts of bigotry as this Ku Klux Klan cross burning in Connecticut in 1980 seem to mark a giant step backward. Some people say these actions by a tiny minority of the population are direct reactions to the progress we've made.

- The vast majority of Americans are now more tolerant of racial, religious and ethnic differences than ever before in our history.
- Over the past year there has been an alarming increase in the number of ugly incidents based on racial and religious bigotry.

Which of these statements is true?

"Both of them!" say people who have been studying social trends and relationships in the U.S.

Most civil rights leaders agree with both statements. So does the President of the United States.

But how can we have a general rise in tolerance and, at the same time, an increase in violent acts of intolerance?

Though such trends appear contradictory, sociologists say, they are linked. As society in general becomes more tolerant and people of different backgrounds meet and mix in all walks of life, there's bound to be an increase of stress and strain. Economic competition, misunderstandings, jealousies, resentments and conflicts are inevitable. People who feel they've "lost" and those who can't accept tolerance and change may turn aside to nurse their private hatreds. They are open to the propaganda of bigotry. And many vent their feelings of resentment and frustration by destructive actions.

The National Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and other black civil rights groups are dismayed by the marked increase in racial violence and bigotry during 1980 and 1981. Members of minorities have been targets of attacks in many parts of the country.

A Jewish civil rights organization, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith reported 377 anti-Semitic incidents—ranging from swastika daubings to fire bombings—during 1980. That was three times the number of such incidents in the previous year.

However, this increase in incidents of intolerance has not gone unchallenged. National leaders in politics, business, religion and the arts have vigorously condemned all forms of bigotry. On June 29, President Reagan denounced "groups who still adhere to senseless racism and religious prejudice." And he promised vigorous investigation of cases involving violations of federal civil rights laws.

What's even more important, many communities across the country have rallied to the support of their neighbors who have been the targets of such "lunatic fringe" groups as the Ku Klux Klan and American Nazis. Often, when incidents of bigotry rock a community, various religious, racial, and ethnic organizations reach out to each other in unprecedented ways. So, just as the march of tolerance can produce a backlash of acts of bigotry by a tiny minority, acts of bigotry can create a "frontlash" of community concern by the vast majority of people.

—Michael Cusack

C.

Adam Simms, "The American Dream,"
Office of the District Attorney of
Nassau County, Prejudice Is No
Prank, pp. 3,6.

America has always been proud to be a nation of immigrants, made up of people from all of the countries, religions and races of the world. Ours is a land to which people have come (and still wish to come) seeking freedom--freedom to work, to vote, to pray, and to create a better life for themselves and their children.

What has made America different than so many other nations of the world is that, for the most part, Americans, no matter what their backgrounds and beliefs, manage--much better than citizens in other nations--to live together. Just compare the problems of the French and English of Canada, or the Protestants and Catholics of Northern Ireland, and you can see immediately how well the American Dream works.

Of course, dreamers sometimes have nightmares. There have been times in our nation's history when Americans have felt the sting of religious, racial and ethnic bigotry.

During the 1830s and 1840s mobs vandalized and burned Catholic churches because some people thought that Irish immigrants and Catholics were trying to "take over the country." Then, for a long time afterwards, people refused to hire Irish Americans, except to work at the lowliest jobs. "Help Wanted" ads in many newspapers often described a job that was available, only to state at the end: "No Irish need apply."

Even before our country became an independent nation, Black Americans were made slaves, and slave owners created elaborate myths about racial differences in order to justify why only Black people--and not whites--were singled out for such treatment. Later, after the Civil War abolished slavery and special amendments to our Constitution declared that Black Americans were now free and equal citizens, people still refused to let them vote, live where they wanted to, receive good educations, or get good jobs--all because of the color of their skin.

Similarly, until after World War II Jews were often barred or discouraged from getting jobs in certain industries and professions, enrolling in many private colleges, and buying homes in certain neighborhoods. People who had never met Jews before and had false ideas about their religion chose to discriminate against them, rather than to befriend them and learn the truth.

In fact, almost every religious, ethnic and racial group that has come to the United States has met some form of discrimination at one time or another. Even today it is common to hear people make slurs against Americans of Polish or Italian backgrounds, and Black and Hispanic Americans still encounter barriers when they look for good jobs or housing.

Such problems have always existed in America. But so, too have the solutions.

Deeply ingrained in our national spirit and history are ideals of equality and tolerance of all people, regardless of their race, creed, color or national origin. From the very founding of our nation, when Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, the goal of America has been to create a society in which all citizens can enjoy "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Steadily and surely, Americans continue to work toward making the American Dream real. Prejudice still exists, but it is finding less and less support in our country. That this is true was recently borne out by a national survey....After asking a representative sample of people about their attitudes toward a variety of the many religious, racial and ethnic groups that make up our nation, it was revealed that young Americans between the ages of 18 and 34 are the best educated and most tolerant generation that this country has ever known or seen.

Tolerance is the future; prejudice, the past. An America that gives each citizen the right, opportunity and ability to live in dignity and equality, free from the handicap and fear of bigotry, is in your hands.

D.

Murray Clark Havens, The Challenges
To Democracy: Consensus and
Extremism In American Politics
(Austin: University of Texas Press,
1965), pp. 94-95.

An America which remains conscious of its nationhood and of the political obligations which are essential to any nation has every reason to remain confident of its future. That future will not be secured merely by the singing of patriotic songs, the chanting of slogans, and the uttering of prayers for the future greatness of our nation and the destruction of others, although these have symbolic values of importance. It will not be secured through the suppression of dissent and disagreement or through the denial of membership in our society to large groups which live here. It will not be secured through attempting to shift our fundamental loyalties from the national level to the separate states or our individual communities. It will be secured through a common acceptance of the fact of our Americanism. It will be secured through a common acceptance of the rest of our population as equally American, it will be secured through a common determination to preserve the fundamentally democratic character of our governmental system. It will be secured through a general acceptance of dissent and disagreement among others as a legitimate part of the system. It will be secured through continuing recognition of the validity of many policies with which we personally disagree and of the need to comply willingly with those policies so long as they possess legal sanction and so long as the democratic process remains available to alter them if it should seem advisable to the rest of the population to do so. Our future will not be secured by the extremists who panic and urge disruption and violence when they think of the present state of our society and the direction in which they think it is moving. It will be secured by those who accept that society as essentially good and who expect to continue to take steps, within the framework of basic patterns long established, to make it better.

Selected and Annotated Bibliography On Extremist Groups in the United States

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* ADL Special Report. Terrorism's Targets: Democracy, Israel and Jews. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1981.
A detailed analysis of the terrorism of left and right extremists, and of the links between them.

* Forster, Arnold and Epstein, Benjamin R. The New Anti-Semitism. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974. A carefully documented book on the anti-Semitism of both left and right extremists in the United States.

Thayer, George. The Farther Shores of Politics: The American Political Fringe Today. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967.
A broad, detailed picture of extremism in America, including interviews with many extremists of the left and right, and analyses of their beliefs and ideas.

Books on Extremism of the Right

Chalmers, David M. Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan. New York: Franklin Watts, Inc., 1981.
A detailed, comprehensive work on the Ku Klux Klan from its origins to the present.

Fisher, William H. The Invisible Empire: A Bibliography of the Ku Klux Klan. Metuchen, N.J. : Scarecrow Press, 1980.
Lists works of scholarly and general interest on the Ku Klux Klan.

Ingalls, Robert P. Hoods: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1979.
A history of the Ku Klux Klan for young readers.

Jackson, Kenneth T. The Ku Klux Klan in the City: 1915-1930. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.
A carefully researched, detailed picture of the Second Klan and its influence in urban America.

* Lipset, Seymour Martin and Raab, Earl. The Politics of Unreason: Right Wing Extremism In America, 1790-1970. New York: Harper and Row, 1970. (See also the listing of the film of the same title).
A comprehensive history of rightist extremism in the United States. Winner of the Gunnar Myrdal Prize.

Lowe, David. Ku Klux Klan: The Invisible Empire. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1967.
A history of the Klan and a description of its terrorism through the mid-1960's--From a 1965 CBS "Reports" documentary. (See also the listing of the film of the same title).

Myers, Gustavus. History of Bigotry In The United States. New York: Random House, 1943.
The classic study of rightist extremism in the United States from the early days of the republic until the 1940's.

Sims, Patsy. The Klan. New York: Stein and Day, 1978.
An extensive series of interviews with Ku Klux Klan leaders and members.

Tarrants, Thomas A. The Conversion of A Klansman. New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1979.
The confessions of a former member of the Ku Klux Klan. Contains descriptions of Klan ideology, and Klan terror and violence.

Trelease, Allen W. White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
A description of the development and activities of the First Klan.

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Arendt, Hannah. The Origins of Totalitarianism. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1951.
The classic study of totalitarianism.

Beichman, Arnold. Nine Lies About America. New York: Library Press, 1972.
A discussion of the propaganda about America disseminated by the extremist left.

Crossman, Richard, ed. The God That Failed. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949.
Essays by American intellectuals who joined and then left the Communist Party in the 1930's.

Howe, Irving and Coser, Lewis. The American Communist Party. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957.
The history of the American Communist Party.

Lyons, Eugene. The Red Decade. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1941.
A description of Communists and Communist fellow-travelers in America in the 1930's.

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* Available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017

Audio-Visual Materials

Klan Youth Corps (11 minutes, 16 mm, color).
A documentary revealing how the Ku Klux Klan is reaching out to recruit young people. Originally presented on the CBS-TV program 30 Minutes. Available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

The Klan Today (30 minutes, 16 mm, color, or video cassette).
A 1982 documentary on the Klan. Available from KLANWATCH, P.O. Box 548, Montgomery, Alabama 36101.

The Ku Klux Klan: An American Paradox (c. 18 minutes, color/sound filmstrip).
Discusses the history, philosophy, and actions of the Ku Klux Klan. Available from Educational Enrichment Materials, 357 Adams Street, Bedford Hills, New York 10507.

Ku Klux Klan: The Invisible Empire (45 minutes, 16 mm, black and white).
The 1965 CBS "Reports" documentary on the Klan. This classic film is an expose of the aims and characteristics of the Klan. Contains historic sequences on the First and Second Klans, as well as footage on the Klan activities of the early 1960's. Available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

The New Klan (58 minutes, 16 mm, color).
Focuses on the Klan factions of the late 1970's, with particular emphasis on David Duke. Originally produced as a 1978 documentary for the Public Broadcasting System.

Organized Bigotry: White Sheets and Swastikas (c.15 minutes, color/sound filmstrip).
Examines the nature and philosophy of the neo-Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. Available from Current Affairs, 346 Ethan Allen Hwy., P.O. Box 426, Ridgefield, Connecticut 06877.

The Politics of Unreason: Right-Wing Extremism in America, 1790-1970. (28 minutes, 16 mm, color).
Dr. Seymour Martin Lipset discusses right-wing extremism from the 1920's throught he 1960's, and analyzes the impact of extremist movements on mainstream American politics. Available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017

Selected Bibliography of Books and Audio-Visual Materials on Prejudice and Intergroup Relations Available From The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Books

ABC's of Scapegoating. Gordon W. Allport (ADL)
Analyzes the motives, sources and forms of scapegoating and race prejudice. Recommends education to fight fear and frustration, and legislation to protect minorities.

40 pages $1.50

Anti-Semitism Awareness. A Model Lesson Guide. Nathan M. Landman (ADL)
This pamphlet, reprinted from THE CHAPLAIN (an armed forces magazine), is a lesson guide for instructors and teachers that will help them lead groups of people into a greater awareness of any anti-Semitic impulses that they may harbor. The Lesson Guide suggests two methods of educating groups about anti-Semitism. The first is through the use of scenarios that embody provocative situations that could possibly trigger hostile feelings toward Jews. The second method is through the presentation of historical information about the roots of anti-Semitism.

16 pages 50¢

Anti-Semitism in America. Harold E. Quinley and Charles Y. Glock (The Free Press.)
A review of the research findings from scores of studies on prejudice and anti-Semitism, including the nine conducted by the ADL and the University of California Research Center over the past 14 years, as part of the PATTERNS OF AMERICAN PREJUDICE series. Studies anti-Semitism as a past political tool, and determines that, as extremist parties are likely to remain "a recurring feature of American political life," the "possibility of future political attacks upon Jews" cannot be discounted.

225 pages $9.95

A Promise to Keep: The American Encounter with Anti-Semitism. Nathan C. Belth (N.Y. Times Books.)
An account of anti-Semitism in America from its earliest days to the present, paralleled with the history of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the first organization formed by American Jews to deal specifically with the problem. The book begins with the dawn of the Jewish odyssey in America in 1654 and recounts in vivid terms the high and low moments in the history of anti-Semitism in this country.

Individual Differences: A Program for Elementary School Age Children
A series of instructional units exploring uniqueness concepts and experiences such as love, self-identify, being, becoming, joy, despair and prejudice. An educator's handbook to help children gain a better understanding of themselves as individuals and enhance their respect for understanding of differences in others.

Developed by Marlene Cummings for the Madison, Wisconsin School District.

588 unbound pages/3-hole
punched for binder $12.50

Little Stories. Glady Baker Bond (illustrated by Maurice Sendak) (ADL) Seven illustrated stories about children who learn and practice brotherhood in everyday situations. Includes teacher's guide.

80 pages $1.95

Living with Difference. Gertrude Noar (ADL) An eloquent and positive statement on the need to accept all kinds of differences whether in the classroom or outside.

16 pages 75¢

The Nature of Prejudice. Gordon W. Allport (Doubleday.) A comprehensive and detailed account of the phenomenon of prejudice-its roots in psychology, history, and social structure, its many varieties, its expressions in interpersonal relations and in society -- and how it can be reduced.

496 pages $5.95

Pluralism in a Democratic Society. Melvin M. Tumin and Walter Plotch, editors (Praeger.) Analyzes American pluralism to provide teachers and curriculum directors with guidelines for integrating the issues raised into a usable curriculum. Part I discusses the limits of American pluralist ideology and examines the issue from a cross-cultural perspective. Part II discusses how children are taught pluralist values. Part III translates the viewpoints presented in the first two sections into working guidelines.

248 pages $4.95

The Prejudice Book. David A. Shiman et al. (ADL) Intended for children in the middle childhood years, this program consists of various curriculum activities designed to develop in children the competence to challenge the many forms of prejudice and discrimination in our society, and the commitment to create a pluralistic society in which all people can flourish. Includes a Teacher Self-Examination Questionnaire aimed at helping teachers to reflect on their own instructional behavior.

176 pages $12.50

Prejudice Project. A collection of curriculum modules, addressing prejudice and intergroup tension, to be incorporated into ongoing courses of teacher education. Teaching strategies include lecture material, opinionnaires, role-playing, use of literature, film and audiotapes, and training in the logic of inference. Developed and field tested as a joint project of the College of Education, University of Nebraska at Omaha, and the Anti-Defamation League.

116 pages $5.00

Prejudiced -- How do People get That Way? William Van Til (ADL) A cogent explanation for young people of how people become prejudiced and how it can be prevented. Discusses such concepts as "superior" and "inferior" races. Illustrated.

32 pages 50¢

Racism and Sexism: Responding to the Challenge. National Council for the Social Studies-Bulletin 61.

A compilation of papers exploring the responses of the social studies to the issues of racism and sexism as they affect the teaching-learning process. Includes comprehensive listings of textbooks, supplementary materials and other useful resources for the teacher.

96 pages $6.95

Reducing Adolescent Prejudice: A Handbook. Nina Hersch Gabelko and John U. Michaelis (Teachers College Press.)

A practical approach to prejudice reduction in secondary schools, this handbook is composed of lessons and units ready to be integrated into existing courses in history, sociology, psychology, economics and ethnic studies, supplementing materials in current use. The approach uses concept development and the range of skills and thinking processes involved in education. Theories of prejudice formation and ways of reducing prejudice are also included. Duplicating masters that reproduce readings from the Handbook are also available.

Book-226 pages	$14.95
Masters-83 pages	$17.95

Sensitizing Teachers to Ethnic Groups. Gertrude Noar (Allyn & Bacon, Inc.)

Provides the teacher with basic historical and sociological information about black, Jewish, American Indian, Spanish-speaking, and other minority group children.

23 pages .75¢

They and We. Peter J. Rose (Random House.)

A review of some of some of the principal aspects of racial and ethnic relations in the United States. Examines the nature of prejudice, the causes and consequences of intergroup conflict, and the reactions of minorities to discriminatory treatment.

190 pages $7.95

Understanding You and Them: Tips for teaching About Ethnicity. Carlos E. Cortez et. al. (Social Science Education Consortium, Inc.)

The author presents a sound philosophical basis for the teaching of ethnic studies. He includes several sample lessions and teaching activities, descriptions of the type of materials available for teaching ethnic studies and how to select them, and resources for evaluation.

66 pages $3.95

US: A Cultural Mosaic — A Multicultural Program for the Elementary Grades.

Developed and extensively field tested by the San Diego City Schools, currently in use by the San Diego City Schools, this multigrade, multi-cultural, multidiscipline program is designed to help children gain insight into themselves and others through the use of language arts, music, art and audio/visual activities.

380 unbound pages/3 hole punched for binder $12.50

What We Know About "Race." Ashley Montagu (ADL)

With the help of humorous illustrations, the noted anthropologist examines the beginnings of man, his adaptive traits, environment and intelligence, and points out that scientists have not yet reached a single acceptable definition of "race."

40 pages, $1.50

Audio-Visual Materials

American Story

A 12-part filmstrip series about familes and their ethnic traditions.

The GROMADA Family -- The Polish American Story
The SPANAKOS Family -- The Greek American Story
The SCHRADER Family -- The German American Story
The HERNANDEZ Family -- The Mexican American Story
The OLSON Family -- The Swedish American Story
The FUKUYAMA Family -- The Japanese American Story
The MARINELLI Family -- The Italian American Story
The FLYNN Family -- The Irish American Story
The NICHOLAS Family -- The Native American Story
The GARCIA Family -- The Puerto Rican Story
The MERLIN Family -- The Jewish American Story
The BROOKS Family -- The Black American Story

Produced by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Each filmstrip in the series tells the story through:

...an historical overview of the land of origin
...a survey of immigration patterns
...the development of community structure
...the experience of a family through three generations of change

Filmstrips are approximately 135 frames, 23 minutes each, with cassette and accompanying discussion guide, designed for use individually or as a series for students and adult audiences.

Purchase Price: $40 per individual filmstrip, $400.00 for the series -- a savings of $80.00

The Distorted Image: Stereotype and Caricature in American Popular Graphics 1850-1922. Twenty-eight minutes/60 frames/color/discussion guide.

Cartoons and illustrations from large circulation magazines reveal the extent and nature of stereotyping which has affected all minority groups in the United States. The presentation is designed for students of history, sociology, and psychology. Based on the research and collection assembled by John and Selma Appel.

Slide Presentation/Purchase Price $50.00 (with cassette).
Filmstrip/Purchase Price $30.00 (with cassette).

Eye of the Storm. Twenty-five minutes/color/not cleared for TV.

In this ABC-TV News special, the effects of prejudice are made patently clear as cameras record a unique two-day experiment conducted by a third grade teacher in a Midwest agricultural community. On the first day, the teacher separated her class into 'superior' and 'inferior' groups, based solely on eye color. Blue-eyed children were 'superior,' brown-eyed children were 'inferior.' On the second day the roles were reversed. Attitudes, behavior and classroom performance were measurably changed as children suffered segregation, discrimination, and the devastating virus of prejudice.

Rental Price $35.00/Purchase Price
$490.00. Also Available — Video Cassette
$295.00

Free to Be? Twenty-eight minutes/color/cleared for TV.

Produced by the ADL in cooperation with the New York Council for the Humanities, this film raises questions about diversity and conformity in American life today and in the past. Examines the concept of ethnic, religious, and political difference and how our society has coped with it. An open-ended discussion stimulator.

Rental Price $20.00/Purchase Price
$300.00. Also available — Video Cassette
$200.00

I Wonder Why. Five minutes/black & white/not cleared for TV.

A unique and poetic approach to a black child's feelings about prejudice, based on a photographic book of the same title. Poignantly narrated and beautifully photographed, the film delivers a powerful message against prejudice. Suitable for all age groups, church organizations, parent-school and civic groups.

Rental Price $10.00/Purchase Price $105.00.

The Little Falls Incident. Seven minutes/color/not cleared for TV.

In conjuction with the publication of ADL's book, The New Anti-Semitism, a WCBS-TV reporter went to a surburban New Jersey town which had experienced an anti-Semitic incident in its junior high school. The newsman interviewed the people involved -- an 8th grade Jewish girl who was the victim of the incident, her classmates, her mother, her teacher, and the school principal. The news report reveals that the lingering anti-Semitism in our society can be easily ignited, and yet many people are apathetic.

Rental Price $10.00/Purchase Price $100.00

Understanding Prejudice-Filmtrips

A three-part color, sound filmstrip series which probes the workings of prejudice -- what it is, how it grows, why it is destructive, and how it can be eradicated. Available with records or cassettes as a complete set, or individually.

1. Stereotyping and Generalizing
   Defines prejudice; shows its relation to stereotyping; explains how stereotyping differs from valid generalizing. Describes the nature of prejudice -- how it is formed and how it may be altered.
   Purchase Price $48.

2. Master Race Myth
   Emphasizes the fact that there is no relation between intelligence and physical appearance, that all people really are similar, and that differences are mainly due to varied environments.
   Purchase Price $48.00

3. Scapegoating
   Explores what scapegoating is; how it differs from discrimination; examines scapegoating through three case studies.
   Purchase Price $48.00 Complete set/Purchase Price $143.00

The Victims. Forty-eight minutes/black and white/ cleared for TV.

Dr. Benjamin Spock, author, teacher and pediatrician, diagnoses the causes of prejudice in children. He finds it a crippling disease, harmful to those who are the recipients of its insidious effects and to those who inflict it. Through a series of interviews Dr. Spock demonstrates that adults are the carriers of the virus -- but that they also have the power to cure. Winner of the International Film & TV Festival Gold Medal -- honored by the Education Film Library Association -- Selected for the Flaherty Film Festival and the Festival de Monte Carlo -- Presented the Gabriel Award, Catholic Broadcasters Association.

Rental Price $25.00/Purchase Price $275.00

You've got to be Taught to Hate. Twelve minutes/color & black and white/cleared for TV.

An edited version of the award-winning ADL documentary The Victims, this film is a primer on prejudice and the way in which it is transmitted to children during their formative and adolescent years. Designed as a discussion stimulator, particularly for junior and senior high school.

Rental Price $25.00/Purchase Price $275.00

Mini-Films on Prejudice

For use as Discussion Stimulators in Classrooms and Public Service TV Spot Announcements.

Red, White and Blue. Thirty-second animation.
As the colors disappear from the American flag, a voice says, "Imagine the flag without the red, white and blue. It wouldn't be the flag, at all. The American people are a lot of different colors, just like a flag..." A group of people representing many different races is shown. The voice continues, "If you took away all the colors there wouldn't be any America left and then, where would you be?"

Purchase Price $10.00/Free to
Television Stations

Ask My Father. Sixty-second live action.
A father voices stereotypic descriptions of unnamed ethnic, racial and religious groups. As his voice and image fade out, his son's face and voice fade in. The child continues saying what his father said until a voice interrupts. "The subtle poison of prejudice, a disease where parents are one of the main sources of infection. Don't infect your child with prejudice..."

Purchase Price $15.00/Free to
Television Stations

The Prejudice Test. Sixty-second live action.
A man spouts stereotypic statements about racial, ethnic and religious groups as the camera comes in on an extreme closeup. Then, a voice says, "If thinking like this doesn't bother you, consider yourself a bigot. If thinking like this disturbs you, consider yourself an American."

Purchase Price $15.00/Free to
Television Stations

I Am America. Thirty-second live action.
An actor portrays the many faces of America in this spot announcement. It is a tribute to the racial, religious and ethnic diversity of our country and a warning about those who seek to destroy it because -- "Prejudice is something America can do without!"

Purchase Price $10.00/Free to
Television Stations

Different Faces. Thirty-second live action.
People of various ethnic and racial groups are shown, speaking in voices with accents other than their own. The theme -- it shouldn't matter how Americans look and speak; yet "...some people think that everyone should talk and think the same...A man called Adolf Hitler felt the same way."

Purchase Price $10.00/Free to
Television Stations

Flowers.
Thirty-second animated spot on the corrosive effects of prejudice.

Purchase Price $10.00/Free to
Television Stations

ADL Celebrity Spot Series

Edward Asner: 60-second live action.

The star of TV's Emmy Award-winning "Lou Grant Show" carries the message that "Prejudice is something America can do without" into the personal experience of viewers who use race, religion, or ethnic background as a measurement for forming friendships. Edward Asner concludes "that kind of prejudice isn't just immoral. When you get right down to it, it's not too smart."

Purchase Price $10.00/Free to Television Stations

Linda Lavin: 30-second live action.

Television's wonderful "Alice" steps out of character to ask viewers to be honest with themselves in their answers to a few tough questions about race, religion and ethnicity. And then she poses a final question for thought; "What kind of world would it be if everyone answers the way you have?"

Purchase Price $10.00/Free to Television Stations

Larry Hagman: 30-second live action.

Television's "bad guy" and star of "Dallas" takes a step back into real life and states that being prejudiced is really being the bad guy and that's not the way to play the game in life.

Purchase Price $10.00/Free to Television Stations

Erik Estrada: 30-second live action.

Star of the popular TV show "Chips." As a motorcycle police officer, Estrada states categorically that one of the worst crimes in America is prejudice, but unlike other crimes, when prejudice takes place we are all victims. "Prejudice, there ought to be a law against it."

Purchase Price $10.00/Free to Television Stations

Judd Hirsch: 30-second live action.

"Taxi's" Judd Hirsch delivers a few tips about "fare" that have nothing to do with cash. "Calling a taxi driver a cabbie, is a harmless nickname but there are others that are not so harmless. Don't be prejudiced," says the star of this long-running series, "it just isn't fair."

Purchase Price $10.00/Free to Television Stations